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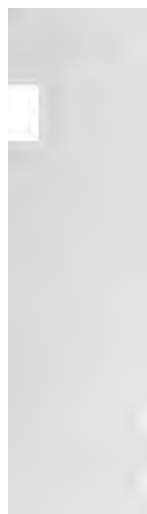


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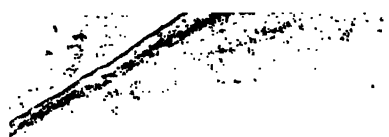




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Young



AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Propriety of applying Wastes
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MAINTENANCE AND SUPPORT
OF
THE POOR.



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WITH
INSTANCES OF THE GREAT EFFECTS WHICH HAVE
ATTENDED THEIR ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY, IN
KEEPING THEM FROM THE PARISH EVEN IN THE
PRESENT SCARCITY.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF SOME NOTES TAKEN IN A TOUR
IN THE YEAR 1800.

BY ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ. F. R. S.

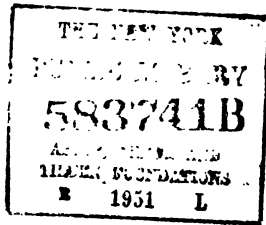
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ERRATUM:

Page 117, lines 4 and 5, *for* 'nine acres of land and 6ol. would pay an interest of 66l. 3s. 4d.' *read* 'nine acres of land and 6ol. pay an interest of 198l. 10s. or above 2ol. an acre.

AN INQUIRY, &c.

IN the progress of the journey which I made in the year 1800, the more peculiar object of which was the waste lands in the counties I should travel, I found many reasons for combining with that object two others—the state of the poor, and the amount of the rates levied for their support. Instances occurred of parishes containing great commons and waste tracts, of which little or no use is made, and at the same time raising immense sums for the poor, expended in a manner which left them almost as wretched as if no such efforts had been made for their support. It did not strike me that the wastes would provide for them much better than parish rates, till I met with one or two very singular instances; but when

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these were duly examined, they opened the view to a field of such extent, and, as I thought, of such importance, as was sufficient to induce me to redouble my attention wherever any thing similar might occur. Other cases, in succession, did offer themselves, of which I have preserved the details.

From these I believe it will be found, that of all the methods of improving waste land, none are so important or so profitable as applying them to the support of the labouring poor.

Of these particulars I have drawn out such an account as will enable the reader to judge for himself: but as the minutiae of such objects would perhaps be too unpleasant to receive the attention of those who have not time to enter into the detail of such inquiries, I have sketched a *precis* of the subject, annexing such observations as occurred; with a reply to all the objections I have in the course of my journey heard to the proposition I have built on these inquiries.

DATA.

CHATTRIS, *Cambridgeshire*.* — About a hundred small cottages have been raised of late years on the common, so close to

* The reader is, once for all, referred to the appendix for the more minute detail of these cases.

each other as to admit only a path around them; very few have gardens: many were built by the owners, who inhabit them, and did not cost more than 10 or 12l. The proprietors have no relief from the parish.

BLOFIELD, Norfolk.—Thirty families have taken $39\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land from the common, and built very good and comfortable cottages; many must have cost 40, 50, and even 60l. They have 23 cows and 18 horses among them. Average of land $1\frac{1}{3}$ acre, average of live stock $1\frac{2}{3}$ head. Only 16 have cows, 8 neither cows nor horses, and 11 less than an acre of land each. 150 souls thus established have cost the parish (by a very inflated account) 24l.; while 110 others, the rest of the poor, burthened it 150l. in the same half year. If 110 without land cost 150l. what would 260, the total poor, have cost, if none had land?

Answer	.	.	.	-	£. 354
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Instead of which it is	.	.	.	-	174
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Saving to the parish, by 40 acres		180
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and 41 head of live stock, in half a year.

HETHERSETT, Norfolk.—Enclosed by act of Parliament, and proves how much the poor are desirous of having property divided rather than in common. The commissioners were enabled by the act to offer double allotments to cottagers possessing under 5l. a year, if they would have them in common under regulations and trustees, and free of all expences. They chose single allotments separate, though to pay all the expences of the enclosure equally with the other proprietors.

WESTON COLVILLE, Cambridgeshire.—Enclosed by act of Parliament, when several parcels of land were laid to the cottages; some had large gardens, others 2 or 3 acres. They do not all keep cows, joining to plough and get bits of corn, which they like better. In this scarcity a trifle may have been occasionally given by the parish to one or two of them; but, generally speaking, they are never burthensome: are very comfortable.

NAZEING, Essex.—The common rights regulated by act of Parliament. The poor were remarkably idle and dissolute; but Mr. Palmer offering to advance money for every poor man who could not afford to buy live stock, many accepted it, and

every man of them repaid him in two years, some sooner. They are converted by this property to as sober and regular a people as they were before licentious.

ALDERSHOT, *Surrey*.—Several cottages built on the common, whose owners have taken from three fourths to two acres each: some have a cow, others a pig. This not only keeps them from the parish, but some are actually charged to and pay the rates.

WORPLESDEN, *Surrey*.—An instance of an old man and his wife living in such a state of wretchedness, in a miserable hovel with a small garden on the common, as I have not seen any where else; but the love of property keeps them from the parish.

CHOBHAM, *Surrey*.—Many poor people have built themselves cottages on the common, but very few have any live stock. Some of them receive a small matter from the parish in this scarcity, others have nothing. They assert that a cow would be a great assistance, and keep them from ever being burthensome.

FARNHAM, *Surrey*.—Above 100 families have built cottages on the common. I exa-

mined 47 of them, who possess about 20 acres, besides some gardens. 24 of them have 103 children at home, the other families I have not noted. These (147 persons in all) are supported with no other allowance from the parish than 4l. 8s. 1½d. per week, or 7d. per head per week: yet there are only 4 cows among them. They would readily give up the parish for a cow, and many would agree to repay the cost by instalments. Every 5 persons in the workhouse cost 64l. 10s. 10d. per annum; consequently, for one year's expence of a family they might establish two on the common free of expence ever after*.

BUXTEAD, *Sussex*.—A family seated on the common would rather have a cow than 6s. a week from the parish.

MAYFIELD, *Sussex*.—Here is a case which proves the assertion in the preceding article: a family chargeable when there was no scarcity, ceased to be chargeable in the scarcity, from a cow being given by the parish.

WIMPOLE, PETWORTH, and WOBURN.—Lord Hardwicke gives gardens to his cottagers; but observing them very badly cultivated, he offered premiums, to encourage bet-

* How this may be done is shown in the appendix,

ter cultivation. The effect so great that their management became exemplary. The Earl of Egremont, at Petworth, and the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn, have each made exertions in favour of their cottagers. Mr. Vernon, in Suffolk, the same.

LINCOLNSHIRE, &c.—In 48 parishes, 753 labourers and their families, renting land sufficient for one or two cows, have received NOTHING from their parishes throughout the late and present scarcities.

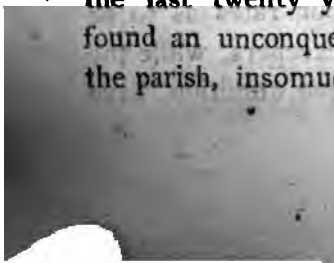
OBSERVATIONS.

It is sufficiently evident from all these cases that the great engine wherewith the poor may be governed and provided for the most easily and the most cheaply, is property: but by our poor laws the effect (undesignedly) upon the poor has been that rather of impoverishment than acquisition, and of promoting idleness rather than industry, by an impolitic and expensive supply from hand to mouth. The consequences of this conduct have matured themselves into such a mass of poor rates as to be ruinous to many little housekeepers, while the poor, deprived of all spirit and ambition, have

sunk into such dependance on the parish, that their poverty has kept pace with the errors of the system ; and has arrived at such a pitch, that if some effective cure be not devised, very mischievous consequences may be expected. Rates, within two or three years, have doubled ; and past experience tells us, that although they rise by reason of the high price of corn, they do not proportionably sink with a low price. If every scarcity be thus to advance them, they will, in no long period, absorb the rents of the kingdom—not to give ease and comfort to the lower classes, but to leave them, if possible, in a worse situation.

The evil being of such a magnitude, it well deserves the consideration of the Legislature, whether a totally-contrary system, proved by so many remarkable cases to be capable of producing great effects, ought not to be adopted ; and the more especially as in the main point it agrees with the proposition made by Mr. Pitt some years ago to the House of Commons.

Many authors have remarked with surprize the great change which has taken place in the spirit of the lower classes of the people within the last twenty years. There was formerly found an unconquerable aversion to depend on the parish, insomuch that many would struggle



through life with large families never applying for relief. That spirit is annihilated : applications of late have been as numerous as the poor ; and one great misfortune attending the change is, that every sort of industry flags when once the parochial dependance takes place : it then becomes a struggle between the pauper and the parish, the one to do as little and to receive as much as possible, and the other to pay by no rule but the summons and order of the justice. The evils resulting are beyond all calculation ; for the motives to industry and frugality are cut up by the roots when every poor man knows that if he do not feed himself, the parish must do it for him ; and that he has not the most distant hope of ever attaining independency, let him be as industrious and frugal as he may. To acquire land enough to build a cottage on is a hopeless aim in 99 parishes out of 100.

But the cases here detailed prove clearly, that wherever there is such a hope, it operates beyond all the powers of calculation. How these men were able to effect their object surpasses inquiry : that they saved money with this view is palpable, because in most of the cases the erections have been the work of regular carpenters and masons, who could not have been employed without a considerable part of the expence being provided for ; and this accordingly

I found the case, for where mortgages had taken place, it was only for a part of the expence, in many instances for only a small part, and in some, not a few, without any such assistance at all.

And here it is deserving of great attention, that during the very period in which the poor have in general become wholly dependant, and burthened their parishes to an enormous amount, these cases of saving frugality and industry have occurred in a few places with no other motive or instigation but the prospect of becoming proprietors of their own cottages. What a powerful motive has this proved, to render them such striking exceptions to a whole kingdom !

But they have done much more than at first appears in this view of the matter, for their operations have had enemies every where; they have at every place had to fight their way through a host of foes—their fences levelled—their works of all sorts viewed with the most jealous eyes—opposed—in some cases defeated—in all calumniated. That their means have been all unobjectionable, I am far from asserting; but that they would have been so if their design had been viewed as it ought to have been, I have not a doubt; for they received little but discouragement when they ought to have been liberally assisted, and they have in some cases been ab-

olutely stopped from all further proceedings of the kind.

It is evident from the details that this has arisen from the parishes being without any regular system, and remaining ignorant, or without power to turn their wastes to their own immense and incalculable advantage.

Nothing can be clearer than the vast importance which all these poor people, scattered as they are through so many counties, and affected by circumstances so extremely various, attach to the object of possessing land, though no more than to set a cottage on. Of this there can be no dispute; and as an object does exist, the prospect of which will induce industry, frugality, patience, and exertion without bounds, while every where else, without this object in view, the very contrary qualities have thriven and increased to the enormous burthen of the kingdom, surely the great and unquestionable importance of using this powerful lever to work upon the people at large—to turn this deep-rooted prejudice to public account—to assist, instead of impeding it's progress— and to nourish those principles of independence which are banished in every other place, is become a point essential in the management of the poor.

When we set by our fire sides and ask how a

poor labourer can afford to build a comfortable cottage, enclose some land, break up and cultivate a rough waste, acquire some live stock, and get many conveniences about him, we defy calculation; there must be some moving principle at work which figures will not count, for in such an inquiry we see nothing but impossibilities. But we forget a thousand animating principles of human feeling. Such effects could not possibly have been produced without a series of years of great industry and most economical saving—to become independent, to marry a girl and fix her in a spot they can call their own, instigates to a conduct, not a trace of which would be seen without the motive ever in view. With this powerful impulse they will exert every nerve to earn, call into life and vigour every principle of industry, and exert all the powers of frugality to save. Nothing less can account for the spectacle, and such animating prospects will account for any thing.

Go to an alehouse kitchen of an old enclosed country, and there you will see the origin of poverty and poor rates. For whom are they to be sober? For whom are they to save? (Such are their questions) For the parish? If I am diligent, shall I have leave to build a cottage? If I am sober, shall I have land for a cow? If I am frugal,

shall I have half an acre of potatoes? You offer no motives; you have nothing but a parish officer and a workhouse!—Bring me another pot—

It is true that wastes are not every where to be found, but the principles of property are universal; and the more they are encouraged amongst the poor, the less burthensome will they be found. He who cannot possess an acre may be the owner of a cow; and the man will love his country the better even for a pig.

One hundred and twenty-eight rods of potatoes are found in Ireland to be sufficient for the support of a family through much the larger part of the year; about three quarters of an acre therefore per family removes them from a dependancy on wheat, placing them in that respect in such a situation that it is of little or no consequence to such families whether wheat is at 5s. or 5l. per bushel. The prodigious importance of such a state of the poorest classes must be obvious at the first blush.

It is evident from the preceding cases that the possession of a cottage and about an acre of land, for on an average these poor people's encroachments do not exceed that portion, if they do not keep the proprietor in every case from the parish, yet very materially lessen the burthen in all. If the weekly sums thus received be compared to what is paid to poor families in any

part of the kingdom where wastes have not been thus applied, it will be found that the difference is much greater than could well be conceived when compared with the quantity of land, and forming a rent in this saving very much beyond the value of it in any other possible application. But the effect which is here proved to attend the possession of a cow is very extraordinary ; they all agree uniformly in this point, and assert that they had rather have a cow than any parish allowance here noted, valuing it even so highly as 5s. or 6s. per week ; and this by men who must know what the benefit is, having possessed and also lived without a cow. It does not follow that wastes are to be preserved in common that the poor may keep cows, but the fact clearly proved, and which applies universally where the land is good enough to keep them at all, is, that the portion sufficient to feed a cow, enclosed and allotted to a cottage, is of that degree of importance.

That giving property to the poor, and that sort of property which they are most anxious to possess, would fix in their hearts a great attachment to and affection for their country is obvious ; and the present state of the lower classes renders this a very essential object : I will not explain that state, it is well known. Suffice it to say, that the first promulgation of such a plan

as I propose would do more instantly to appease their minds and render them patient under their present sufferings than perhaps any thing that could practically be devised. Nor would the extent of the relief be inconsiderable; there are commons or wastes through much the larger part of the kingdom, and consequently the mass of the benefit would be of a magnitude well deserving the attention of the Legislature.

In periods of scarcity a considerable benefit would result to the poor from the peculiar tendency of this mode of provision to meet the exigencies of the times. Prices in such periods always rise far beyond the deficiency of the crop, then such of the poor as have land feel the advantages of it doubly. I found both the Blofield and Farnham cottagers much pleased with having reaped a tolerable, and in some cases a very good crop of corn, and comfortably consoling themselves that they had potatoes of their own, and were not forced to buy at the high price of the market. Whatever they have to sell produces a good return, which gives them some interest in the rise so utterly ruinous to such as are without land. Some of these cottagers had small plots of hops, and told me of great advantage derived from them, even to selling as much as produced 6l. or 7l. Those

who go much among the poor must know what a great effect this has on the mind in instigating to industry ; such motives are not to be estimated ; they can neither be brought to the bushel nor the scale ; it is not a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence ; it works in the soul ; it animates the heart more than twice the value gained in any other way.

While a general enclosure of wastes is called for by one universal voice, it becomes peculiarly proper to consider what has been the effect of parliamentary ones relative to the immediate interests of the poor ; as I have heard some gentlemen observe that such a measure would cure all evils : upon right principles I believe it would, but such very general views being apt to lead to error, it will be necessary to examine the question particularly.

In this journey I examined the effect of above a hundred and forty parliamentary enclosures on the production of human food—on population—on the poor rates—and on the situation and comforts of the poor : in great numbers the last article was not to be ascertained ; in some, from the enclosure having taken place long ago ; in others, from the want of knowledge in my informants ; and for other reasons : but in the following cases I received the information I sought for.

EFFECT OF ENCLOSURES ON THE POOR.

SANDY.—Injured.

EATON.—Injured. Their cows much lessened.

WARBOYS.—Many kept cows; now few. They were certainly injured.

RAMSEY.—Cottagers' cows lessened.

ALCONBURY.—Highly injurious to them. Many kept cows that have not since. They could not enclose, and sold; and with those that hired, the allotments thrown to the landlords, and the poor left without cows or land.

MARCH.—Those of property benefited, all who hired were ruined.

WIMBLINGTON.—Ditto.

BARRINGTON.—One acre allotted for the right of 3 sheep and 2 cows.

LONGSTOW.—Several kept cows who keep them no longer.

ABINGTON.—Suffered greatly. All allotments thrown to one person, and their cows vanished. Suffered so much as to stop enclosing for many years.

MORDEN GUILDEW (the act just passed).—Their cows will be dissipated. They are greatly alarmed.

STREATHAM (not enclosed, but talked of).—Abhor the idea, because all their cows would go.

L. WILBRAHAM.—A common allotted, and never to be occupied but by cottagers.

WESTON COLVIL.—Cottagers with rights better off, others lost their cows.

CARLETON.—Improved.

NORTHWOLD.—Suffer. Twenty who kept stock, keep it no longer. Others bettered. Allotments can neither be let nor sold from the houses.

HILLBOROUGH.—Suffered.

FINCHAM.—Injured in fuel, and cows gone.

SHOULDHAM.—Much injured in both fuel and live stock.

GARBOISETHORPE.—Poor kept 20 cows before, now none.

MARHAM.—They have not suffered.

LEXHAM.—Cows lessened.

HEACHAM.—Much comfort from little properties of 2 to 10 acres. They keep cows, and have corn.

SEDGFORD.—Injured.

BRANCASTER.—Well treated.

SALTHOUSE.—Ditto.

FELTHORPE —Much injured.

. —Very well treated.

SHROPHAM.—Well treated.

LANGLEY.—Ditto.

ACLE.—Much injured.

SHOTTISHAM.—Well treated. Cows increased.

OLD BUCKENHAM.—Well treated.

BARNABY.—Ditto.

BARTON MILLS.—Injured. Cows annihilated.

PARNDON.—Their little allotments all sold.

BASINGSTOKE.—Injured.

In 37 cases, not injured only in 12.

Before any observations are made on this table, it is necessary to explain, that by the poor being injured, is not at all meant that no good results to some of them, even in these cases: in soils which are kept in tillage there is, without any question, a considerable increase of employment truly valuable to the poor. Let no one imagine that one word offered in this paper is meant generally against enclosing; all contended for is, simply, that such of the poor as kept cows in these parishes, could keep them no longer after the enclosure: that instead of giving property to the poor, or preserving it, or enabling them to acquire it, the very contrary effect has taken place; and as this evil was by no means *necessarily* connected with the measure of enclosing, it was a mischief that might easily have been avoided, and ought most carefully to be avoided in future.

In the minutes I took of these and many other enclosures, many instances will be seen in which the small value of common rights is noted from the low rent in some cases paid for them: but

this proves nothing against giving the poor land distinctly ; nor is it even an argument proving the position for which it is brought, as letting to the inhabitants of other parishes is precluded, and when the home poor are unable to get the stock, the price at which a right lets can be no criterion of it's value.

Commissioners of enclosures are little apt to confess any thing against them, but I met with three in one county who furnished me with observations that merit notice.

Mr. Forster, of Norwich, after giving me an account of 20 enclosures in which he had acted as a commissioner, stated his opinion on their general effect on the poor, and lamented that he had been accessory to injuring two thousand poor people, at the rate of 20 families per parish. Numbers in the practice of feeding the commons cannot prove their right ; and many, indeed most who have allotments, have not more than an acre, which being insufficient for the man's cow, both cow and land are usually sold to the opulent farmers. That the right sold before the enclosure would produce much less than the allotment after it, but the money is dissipated, doing them no good when they cannot vest it in stock.

Mr. Ewen, a commissioner, in the same place, observed, that in most of the enclosures he has

known the poor man's allotment and cow are sold, five times in six before the award is signed.

Mr. Burton, of Langley, a very able commissioner, wished for a clause in all acts on the principle of that of Northwold, which makes the allotment inalienable from the cottage, as he admits there is a considerable benefit in the poor people having land enough for a cow; from two to four acres, according to the soil.

As there is not the least necessity for the evil here complained of, and merely a call that in passing enclosure acts the rights and interests of the poor should be attended to, which it is too plainly evident they have not been, I conceive that it becomes a matter of propriety to point out such evils; and at a period in which every exertion is making to assist and relieve the poor, that this necessary one should not be neglected. To pass acts beneficial to every other class in the state, and hurtful to the lowest order only, when the smallest attention would prevent it, is a conduct against which reason, justice, and humanity equally plead.

The rise of poor rates in parishes that have been enclosed having kept pace with the increase in other parishes, is another proof that there has been something deficient in the principles which have conducted them. Above 60,000 acres of

commons have been enclosed in the places which I have registered; in the following the rise is noted particularly:

	<i>Acres of Com.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Lidlington	- 497	_____	1	to 4	6
March	- 3440	doubled to 1300l.			
Chattris	- 4320	_____	2	to 4	6
Abington	- 80	_____	0	to 2	6
Wilbraham	- 469	more than doubled.			
Hillborough	- 420	doubled.			
Fincham	- 647	trebled.			
Hethersett	- 430	_____	5	to 10	0
Barton Mills	300	_____	4	to 13	0
	<u>10,603</u>		<u>20</u>	<u>to 53</u>	<u>0</u>

These are selected merely because the old rates, the new, and the commons are all minuted. The rise has been equal in the rest. It should therefore seem, that notwithstanding the increase of employment, yet there has been some contrary current which has been bearing heavily against the force of such employment. On the contrary, if a right use had been made of a very small portion of these commons, poor rates might have been done away altogether.

And this leads to some other cases which should in the next place be examined.

WYMONDHAM.—This place contains 3100 souls, and pays 4150l. a year to the house of industry. Never less than 1184l. The average expence of maintenance in the house, including every thing, for four years, from 1797 to 1800, was 13l. 4s. 8d. a head, or for a family of five 66l. 3s. 4d. This parish contains 1800 acres of unenclosed common, the soil rich. Now it is a curious fact in the history of our poor, that they expend as much in one year for one family as would settle two, perhaps three, on their common, cleared of their parish for ever!!

BOCKING.—The poor rates of this place are 1l. 10s. in the pound. Population about 3000, of which 1700 are relieved, at the expence of 6840l. but their situation miserable. At five to a family, there are 340 families, and the charge (other expences deducted) 17l. 12s. per family. The expence of those in the workhouse 10l. per head, or 50l. per family. I examined many of the poor in the presence of the perpetual overseer, and asked them which they would prefer, to go on as they do, or have an acre of land given them,

with a hog, seed, and allowance till set a-going, but inalienable; and if again chargeable, to revert to the parish. All answered "The land, far away!" To buy this at 30l. an acre, adding 20l. per family, reaches only to the charge at present paid in the workhouse for a single year: that is, one year's expence settles a family for ever.

BUY.—The total expence of the poor this year is 8373l. 2s. 7d.; and of 294 in the workhouse, 3787l. 18s. 9d. or 12l. 17s. 7d. per head, and 64l. 7s. 11d. per family, Enough to purchase two acres of good land. To purchase one acre and a half, and leave a surplus of 19l. 7s. 11d. to provide for a family; and, as in the other cases, convert the expence of one year into a perpetual establishment!

Let not the reader imagine that these are singular cases, I have reason to believe they are very general; but I cannot omit the opportunity of remarking, that such horrible abuses call aloud for parliamentary attention; and no body so properly adapted both for inquiring into the facts, and preparing them for the inspection of Parliament as the Board of Agriculture. That the kingdom ought to be examined with this particular view cannot admit a doubt.

If we combine the preceding facts, the following corollaries may in all fairness be drawn from them

I. That nothing tends so strongly to give the poor industrious and frugal habits as the prospect of acquiring, or the hope of preserving land.

II. That wherever they are possessed of it, they are either kept entirely from the parish, or supported at a very small comparative expence.

III. That parishes are at as great an expence to keep them in a state of distress as would fix them in a comfortable situation.

IV. That enclosures as hitherto conducted have no such effect.

If these deductions are fairly made, and I trust they will be found so, it then remains for consideration whether they do not furnish reasons of sufficient weight to induce the Legislature to attend to an inquiry of singular importance to the poor, and by consequence eventually to every class of the community. To point out specifically in what manner a public use might be made of these cases, which harmonize with the facts laid before the Board of Agriculture by a noble member*, would be improper in a private individual, uncalled upon, to detail: but in one instance something may be ventured without too great a hazard; and this is, in all future enclo-

* Earl of Winchilsea.

asures of waste lands, whether by distinct acts of Parliament, or by a general enclosure, in these provision ought certainly to be made for a better attention to the interests of the poor. No allotment ought to be made to any commoner who has kept a cow, that will not suffice for the summer and winter maintenance of it. Such allotment should be inalienable from the cottage, and to be held and occupied only by the inhabitant. There are already precedents for this, and more than one are noted in the minutes of this journey, as well as recommended by Mr. Burton, the commissioner, from having long witnessed the evils resulting from the omission.

By the Sayham enclosure every man who proved to the commissioners that he had been in the habit of keeping stock on the common, whether with or without right, had an allotment.

By the Little Wilbraham act, passed 1797, no person occupying twenty acres of land shall ever occupy a common right, even if they should *possess* they cannot *occupy* it.

By the Northwold act, 1796, the allotment for fuel, with right to cut, cannot be alienated, assigned, or conveyed from the houses.

But a further provision should be made for such families as are chargeable to the parish, under certain limitations, and who should be willing to accept land in lieu of parochial re-

lief, to enable the parish thus to provide for them in ease of their rates. And the proportion of the land thus applied might be regulated by the amount of the rates (for instance that one fifth, one sixth, or what other proportion might be fixed on, should annually be thus employed) till a given proportion of the chargeable poor should be provided for in an allotment made to the parish for this purpose. Such allotment should not be applied to any other use, that no private interest might impede the progress of the plan.

There are instances minuted of such allotments for fuel and common to the amount even of 300 acres; which would, under such a clause as I now propose, have provided far better and more effectually for the poor, had such a power been given to those parishes.

If the Legislature should take the present burthen of poor rates into consideration, and the means of preventing (should it be possible) their absorbing gradually the whole rental of the land, or should they inquire into the means of giving permanent relief to the poor, a very important use may thus be made of wastes. It will rest with their wisdom to enter into the detail of the means of executing the plan, and the circumstances which should regulate it. But it would be no difficult matter to frame a scale of

assistance in land, which should answer to certain weekly stipends, in the present system.

Where there are no wastes, and land to be bought at a low rate, from it's uncultivated state or other circumstances, and in some cases even where it is good, it appears that it may be purchased to great advantage; and in situations still different the renting plan may be adopted, and the live stock, &c. only found by the parish. Of this more hereafter.

As to the expence of settling a family on waste land it may be estimated various ways.

The Norfolk Calculation.

Building, fencing, cow, pig, seed, furniture, and land (three acres) are	£.	s.	d.
	52	18	0
The same, if no furniture	42	18	0
If no house	22	18	0

The Bocking Calculation.

To buy the land (an acre)	30	0	0
A hog	1	5	0
Fencing	3	0	0
Seed	2	2	0
Sundries	10	0	0
16 weeks' allowance, 4s. 6d.	3	13	0
	50	0	0

If 10l. were added towards a house on £. s. d.
 the spot, when they should be able
 to raise the rest, it would be 60 0 0

If land were cheaper, more might be had,
 thus:

	£.	s.	d.
At 10l. an acre, three acres would be	30	0	0
Cow and sundries, as in Norfolk	22	18	0
	<hr/>		
	52	18	0
	<hr/>		

In the Renting System.

Rent, &c. of three acres	-	3	10	0
Cow	-	10	0	0
Hog	-	1	5	0
Fencing	-	3	0	0
Weekly allowance	-	5	0	0
		<hr/>		
		22	15	0
		<hr/>		

Suppose the people 10 millions, and that half are supported by the parishes, this is 5 millions; and without making any deductions for manufacturers or great cities, let us estimate that the benefit in some shape or other should be extended to all: 5 millions of people are one mil-

lion of families; they might be divided into five classes of 200,000 in each, and thus provided for :

£.		£.
200,000 at 60	—	12,000,000
200,000 at 50	—	10,000,000
200,000 at 40	—	8,000,000
200,000 at 30	—	6,000,000
200,000 at 20	—	4,000,000
<hr/> 1,000,000*		<hr/> 40,000,000

I have made this calculation for the mere purpose of shewing that two thirds or four fifths of one year's expenditure of the public would provide for all the poor in the kingdom; and if it lessened poor rates only 2,000,000l. the saving would pay interest at five per cent for the money: but such a plan would, without question, lessen them in a much greater proportion.

The system would admit of many modifications both to lessen the expence and to render it more easily practicable. The parishes should execute it and borrow the money of the public,

* Half the people of England have been calculated to inhabit towns; if such an operation was to be confined to the villages only, the number of families would be 500,000, and the expence of course 20,000,000l.

on the credit of their rates. If the case of a single family is taken, it will shew the immense importance of the saving. Fifty-two pounds establish a family completely and free from all future parochial assistance; the interest of this is only 1s. per week: but a chargeable family costs the parish more than double even in good times; at present, 5s. 6s. 8s. a week, and yet without the poor being in a situation comparable to what land and a cow would place them in.

Had parishes the power of thus providing for the poor, knowing at the same time that they could have the money of Government, on the security of their rates, all might not demand it at once; or it might be gradually done, limited to so many millions sterling per annum, and dispensed according to circumstances.

Certain it is, that the spectacle of a very distressed poor, depending not on themselves but on the parish, with seven or eight millions of waste acres scattered over every part of the kingdom; rates to the amount of seven, eight, or nine millions sterling, and a country so rich that any sums might be borrowed, seem to form a most contradictory and incongruous system—to manifest want of policy—to betray an inattention to circumstances which once properly combined would dissipate every difficulty, and render this country as happy for

the lower classes as it has long been for the higher ones. Would attach the people to their king and country by the closest ties, and give every man such a stake in it's prosperity as would ensure the last drop of his blood to defend that which was the parental source of all his comforts.

I do not write this without knowing that it will be esteemed wild and visionary: to those who have sat quietly and seen the poor rates rapidly increasing while the measure not of the people's relief but of their misery, such ideas must be visionary, for they are in utter contradiction to the common practice. Every man complains of the distemper, but no one proposes a remedy. What difficulty would be found insuperable if commissioners in every hundred and wapontake, or other division, were appointed of the first respectability, without pay or salary, to carry such a plan as this into execution? What delight would it not spread among the people to see them so employed? What evil would be felt, what scarcity would be thought of while a system was maturing and gradually coming into effect which was to place every man under the shade of his own vine, his wife milking her cow, and his children weeding the potatoes?—the prison bars of workhouses thrown down, and animated industry driving away sloth and misery?

Compare such a spectacle with that of the poor in a parish enclosing by act of Parliament; deprecating the measure while in operation, selling their cows when finished, and pouring into the vestry, clamorous for relief.

Having thus given the data which occurred on the journey, and observations on the purport of the information, it will next be proper to answer some objections which have occurred in conversations I have had on the subject.

I. The idea of giving land in any method is plainly wrong, from the slovenly condition of many of their gardens.

The Earl of Hardwicke's premiums might be urged as an answer to this objection: if in any district the evil had been found, here are the means of remedying it. To assert that no possible evil could arise, is by no means necessary. Our present system possesses a full harvest of evils; yet we have submitted hitherto, because the one object—that the poor do not starve—is effected.

But upon what principle is this objection founded? The cottager's object in cultivating a few rods of ground is to raise a small spot of potatoes and a few cabbages! Do these con-

fer property in house or land? Do these keep him from the parish? Will the very best cultivation of such a spot render him independent? The capital object which has instigated all the people noticed in the minutes is wanting; and then it is contended, that because they are bad cultivators *without* this main inducement, therefore they would be the same *with* it! Nor should it be forgotten, that it is as fair, from a multitude of instances of very-well-cultivated gardens, to assert just the contrary of this position, as, from some ill-managed spots, to draw the conclusion, that all would be the same.

II. *There are many idle, worthless fathers of poor families that would readily receive what is proposed to be given; but when they had taken up their potatoes, would sell them and their bog, throw up their land, and if they should not run away, at least come to the parish: and if a cow were added, the inducement would be still greater.*

The idea supposes that this worthless father is at present in the parish, and has not run away from his family; that is, he has not run away from misery and wretchedness, but he would do it readily from a much better situation. To such absurdities are men willing to have re-

course when it is question of starting objections. Give him a cow, and his situation is still better. If he sell it and run away, he is ready to commit any crime at present ; and would do it to attain the value of a cow. What bar but the law to prevent him now from stealing your cow and selling it? Were the Legislature to mature a plan on these cases, such possibilities of evil would, doubtless, receive some guard. As to the general idea of their quitting their families, is it not a common crime at present in almost every parish in the kingdom? And why do they it? Because under the present laws they have not the motive to abstain from it, which they would have were they in a better situation. The system of land would probably be found the very best preventive of this crime. Those who urge such an objection, should raise it on facts: in such a parish many poor have land, and they have quitted both land and family. How far must we go to find such an instance, the land being inalienable?

III. *Your cases are themselves imperfect; for in some of them the poor have land, and are yet burthensome.*

The objection, as far as it extends, is perfectly fair; and it shews that there are cases in

which land may come into the possession of the poor, and not keep them from a parish who will not make use of the power in their hands. If the governor of a workhouse have the entire management, or any other person who must maintain or receive them if they become chargeable, it may be his interest to give them a small allowance, rather than let them become entirely chargeable by selling their cottage.* But the objection is more satisfactorily answered by recurring to the circumstances :—the poor build by means of mortgaging; their whole substance goes in the house—they are destitute of live stock—and the system being in almost every particular faulty, no wonder that some have received parish assistance; though, it is to be remarked, much smaller assistance than other families equally numerous. It is more surprising that so many *thus* established should be able to do without the parish than that some should have applied for relief. The cases at Blofield, Chattris, and Aldershot are decisive on the other side, though all were wretchedly deficient in the means of establishing themselves. It cannot in any fairness be concluded, that because some poor families who have, without any assistance, and struggling against much opposition, partially failed in the acquisition of that entire independency on the parish they aimed

at, that therefore they would in like manner fail when properly established in their new situation.

IV. Should the plan be found practicable where there are waste lands, it does not follow that it could be executed where there are none.

Buying land, as proposed in the case of Bocking, could not in many places be done; proprietors would not sell land.

To propose any one uniform plan that should in all its parts be executed through the whole kingdom, would be wild and visionary; but the principle is adapted to all. Various applications of it might be made to suit different situations and circumstances. Where there are commons and waste lands, all difficulties would vanish; and where land could be bought, obstructions might not be great: but that certain places could not be found where this would be impracticable without too strong an arm of power, cannot be asserted. In such the renting system might be adopted, which has in so many instances, particularly those capital ones of the Earl of Winchelsea and of Lincolnshire, been productive of most happy effects. To let every cottager, at a fair rent, land enough for a rood or half an acre

of potatoes and the food of one or two cows, fenced, and to find the live stock and seed, would be carrying the principle of property into effect under certain regulations of security. I state it, however, as an object of consideration, as an idea drawn from the minutes, that *property* in land would in very many cases be the more effective and, perhaps, the cheaper way of doing the business. It is applying the main lever of the poor people's affections and prejudices.

V. Giving land to the poor would be open to the fraud of one parish enabling a most burthensome family to purchase in another parish, and thereby gain a settlement.

In the first place, all parishes are at present liable to this fraud: but were the present propositions accepted, they would not be liable thereby in the least degree; for can any person be so careless in his attention as to suppose that because a parish is enabled thus to provide for it's own poor, that by consequence strangers would be permitted to settle? The objection was once urged to me, or I should not have given it a place at present.


VI. *What is to be done with the cottage or land when the father of the family dies?*

It would be improper for me to propose specific remedies for every difficulty that can occur. But this does not appear an insuperable one, though such case might possibly be found. I suppose the fee of the cottage or land to be in the parish, and the possession granted under an act of Parliament conditionally, that so long as the father live free from being chargeable, or so long as any of that posterity which were living at the time of the grant, or born to him afterwards, remain unchargeable—so long the cottage &c. belongs to the family, to be inherited by his widow or son, &c. accepting the property with the burthen annexed; if the case, from the ages or other circumstances, precludes this, the property would return to the parish, who may allow the widow and her children to remain, or remove them in favour of another family, as the case might require. And if it should be proposed to the unprovided families, under a rent of a certain payment per week, to such widow for a given time, it might be found a mean, if land formed a part of the premises, not only to provide for the new comers, but to assist also in the support of those who quitted it. But it

would be essential to the plan that the property should be absolute and the possessor unremoveable so long as the conditions were complied with. This would create great frugality and attention in the father so to leave his family as to enable them to preserve the property; we have every reason to conclude this from what we see in very numerous instances at present among the owners of such premises.

VII. The choice on theory which poor men may declare when such a proposal is mentioned to them, is not a proof that they would succeed; they are ignorant of the situation, not having experienced it.

There is truth here in the literal fact, but very little in the argumentative conclusion. When we see an earnest desire amongst the poor of all descriptions to possess houses of their own, and find that they fix an uncommon value in their minds on being proprietors of land, a fact known in every part of the kingdom, and when these circumstances are in unison with feelings found in every human breast, we may fairly conclude that men who would thus make their choice would also feel every inducement to render it effective, to secure success, and to ensure



the permanent possession of what they had so earnestly coveted.

In all the cases quoted, these feelings appear to have had their full operation, for the instances of selling their little possessions are so few that no great stress can be laid on them; and so many going through the difficulties of the present and last scarcities without parochial assistance, when by selling their land they would not only possess the means of much present indulgence, but be open to future relief from the parish, proves that they will struggle through great difficulties to *retain* as well as to acquire such properties. Why other men who well know the comforts derived from land (for there is scarcely any vicinity that has not it's instances), though they have not experienced them, should not act in the same manner after making the situation their voluntary choice, does not appear fair to expect. To cultivate a garden for potatoes, beans, and cabbages is a business which any man can execute: some would do it with more, some with less skill; but all would do it to their own advantage. They would not be suddenly entrapped into the plan, but would have full time to consider the question and consult with their friends and relations before they made the choice.

VIII. *Wastes are as much property as my house.*
Will a farmer give up his right of common-
age?

The objection grounds on the tenderness with which the Legislature proceeds when private property is in question.

I will not dispute their meaning; but the poor look to facts, not meanings: and the fact is, that by nineteen enclosure bills in twenty they are injured, in some grossly injured. It may be said that commissioners are sworn to do justice. What is that to the people who suffer? It must be generally known that they suffer in their own opinions, and yet enclosures go on by commissioners, who dissipate the poor people's cows wherever they come, as well those kept legally as those which are not. What is it to the poor man to be told that the Houses of Parliament are extremely tender of property, while the father of the family is forced to sell his cow and his land because the one is not competent to the other; and being deprived of the only motive to industry, squanders the money, contracts bad habits, enlists for a soldier, and leaves the wife and children to the parish? If enclosures were beneficial to the poor, rates would not rise as in other parishes after an act to enclose. The poor in

these parishes may say; and with truth, *Parliament may be tender of property; all I know is, I had a cow, and an act of Parliament has taken it from me.* And thousands may make this speech with truth. There is not a man in England more urgent than I am for a general enclosure, but I contend that the felicity of the poor should be fixed by means of enclosure.

Is it therefore possible that any man can be serious when he talks of tenderness to property as a bar to relieving the poor by commons, while above a thousand commons have been enclosed to their direct injury? Or is not this tenderness to operate for the poor in times like these, after having so long worked for the rich without an equal call?

But the objection is unfounded in another respect: it supposes that the arrangements by which land should be assigned to the poor are to be made or specified in an act of Parliament directly depriving men of certain rights of common. This is by no means necessary: there is no dispute either of the right or power of Parliament to ordain any degree of relief to the poor. If local and peculiar circumstances render relief in land unpleasant, it is a motive in such cases of leaving the choice to parishes; but it would be very easy, in settling the balance between land and money, to give such fa-

your to the former as should induce parishes to prefer it. It would only require a clause enacting that in parishes where there are commons families should receive so much per week per head, or be provided with land, leaving all difficulties to the vestry; they would be ready enough to resort to the common, provided the impediments were removed of an expensive application to Parliament for each enclosure. Private property would remain untouched, and the application of the common would be the act of the parties themselves.

IX. Your choice of commoners as the basis of your proposal is extraordinary; for every one knows them to be the most pilfering, worthless, poaching vagabonds that are any where to be found: and if the possession of gardens, cows, pigs, and poultry is to make others like them, better far to leave such poor and honest.

Abundance of circumstances are here taken for granted which would demand much discrimination, and some proof; but, to simplify the argument, we will admit enough of the assertion to give an opponent a plausible ground of objection: but let the following points be had in contemplation.

1. All cottagers who live on commons have not property, and do not therefore come into the sphere of our inquiries. Before the objection can fairly be made, it is necessary to make this separation, and by no means accuse them in the lump. The accusation may be true of one party, and yet utterly false of the rest. The living by or on a common will not improve the morals of a family, whatever a due portion of property might effect. People are found in such situations, and yet in a state of the lowest poverty. It is not a goose on a common that is to place them in a better condition. And every one knows that a few thieves will give a bad reputation to a whole hamlet.

2. What sort of reasoning is it that admits sobriety, industry, and frugality, in order to get a cottage and a cow, and then supposes that such possession is to convert such qualities into profligacy and vagabondage? Is it admissible in common sense? But grant even this to be the fact, what has the system proposed to do with commons? I contend for enclosures. Spread these commons with cultivation, and give every cottager land enough to feed his cow in winter as well as summer. Take from him the temptation to steal. Every evil you can possibly complain of is the result, not of the system of property, but the want of

a sufficiency. The common is a very bad support, give him a better. He is able and willing to pay as high for it as any farmer in the country.

3. Cottagers on commons are encroachers—they encroach on the property of farmers even by the possession of a garden—they must have enemies therefore—the least property cuts them off in very many cases from parochial relief, and their prejudices in favour of property sink them in some cases lower than others who have none. If this tempts them to be thieves, is the system to be condemned because only half executed? A man with a cottage and a goose is a rogue, who would be honest with a cow and land to feed it. This is not theory, it is fact: I inquired for the families of the worst character at Farnham, and others against whom nothing was suspected; the one had hovels and chickens, the others houses and cows.

But suppose objections to this plan were such as to permit doubts to remain on the practicability of carrying it into execution, this only renders it a proper object of inquiry. First ascertain whether, if it could be effected, it would be a great and permanent relief to a large proportion of the poor. There can be little difficulty in this. The

poor themselves, both in and out of the requisite situation, are judges of this point, and the difficulties of execution would be the proper business of a committee expressly appointed for this purpose. The most popular committee that ever sat, whose inquiries would diffuse an idea of comfort through the people. The *search* for relief would prove *relief*. They would understand the object, and bless the men that busied themselves about it.

Nothing has astonished me more than the readiness I have found in so many persons to raise objections to the conclusions I have drawn from these instances, and the strange want of discrimination I have met with in the arguments that have been urged against the system recommended. One would think that the faculties of some men were adapted only to probe ideal evils and analyze imaginary mischief. They seem to forget that in all inquiries concerning the poor the only fair mode of estimating difficulties and objections is by comparison. What is the present system, and what has been it's result? The amount of poor rates, combined, as it ought ever to be, with the misery and wretchedness attendant, ought to be well understood in these times, or they are never likely to be understood at all. The system here proposed to be substituted, that of PROPERTY in house,

land, or live stock, has not, except in one large district, been tried fairly. In that district it has succeeded completely; but in very many of the cases just instanced it has not been, properly speaking, *tried* at all. They are circumstances which have almost fortuitously arisen from the mere exertions of some unassisted poor people struggling to support themselves without parochial assistance; in many cases with inadequate means, incompletely in more, and under great difficulties in all. Such attempts must in their nature have a weakness and insufficiency in them far different from the matured efforts of our poor laws, executed at the expence of millions; as *different* in force and power as in effect: the one attended by enormous burthens, which have utterly failed in the effects expected; the other, without any burthen at all, producing comfort, and where failing, never from principle, but always from insufficient power of execution. The contrast is so great, that if only one case in ten fairly established the possibility of thus providing for the poor, it would surely merit a marked and singular attention, when opposed to the result of the complicated expence and misery flowing from the system of our legal provision.

It is further to be considered, that the means of carrying into effect this system of property

are scattered in waste lands over almost every part of the kingdom ; that in other districts land may be purchased beneficially ; and that where these circumstances cannot take place, the renting plan, applicable to all, may be adopted. Thus the extent to which these manifold advantages may be spread, is so considerable as to be really a great national object.

For one person to find out that commoners *without property* are notorious rogues, while I shew that with property they are honest men ; for another to discover that cottagers in debt for building their house are not always free from parish support, while I prove that without debts they are not burthensome ; for a third to assert that poverty is necessary to make men work, while 700 cases are produced of men who, having cows, are unexceptionably the best labourers in their country ; for a fourth to say that employment by parliamentary enclosing is better than cows, while it is proved that poor rates have risen enormously in parishes so enclosed, and not a penny where the poor have all cows ; for an opponent to declare that men would run away from property who do not at present run away from poverty ; what are these difficulties but vain assertions in the teeth of fact, or conclusions from partial views which, however true

in fact, are false in argument. In many of these instances the assertions might be assented to, and yet those who make them would be no nearer the object of their reasoning. Discrimination is necessary. At Chattris I instance the case of mere cottages, and without even gardens, keeping families from the parish. How easy would it be to expatiate on the evils of such a situation. But is the case brought to prove the benefit of such a condition? No: it is brought to prove that this sort of property, even in it's most wretched depression, is preferred to parish support. And what is the conclusion? Why, surely, in case of necessity, it would be better to encourage that spirit by adding a cow to the cottage, than crush it at once by forcing the property to be sold for bread to eat!

The same observation might be made on all the cases produced; there is not one which does not, if rightly applied by the reader, go to prove the general principle on which the proposed system grounds; there is not one which does not contrast with the present mode of providing for the poor in a manner that marks the greatest superiority. And I should be wanting to that conviction which I feel in my own mind if I did not declare my entire persuasion that this is the only practicable method of saving the kingdom from ruin. It is impossible for a country to go

on, respecting the poor, as this does at present: the consequences *must* be fatal. At a moment when a general enclosure of wastes is before Parliament to allow such a measure to be carried into execution in conformity with the *practice* hitherto, without entering one voice, however feeble, in defence of the interests of the poor, would have been a wound to the feelings of any man, not lost to humanity, who had viewed the scenes which I have visited.

May God, of his mercy, grant that the Legislature, whenever they take into consideration the subject of the poor, may give to this part of that momentous subject the attention which it merits; may inquire into it fully and minutely; and receive their information from those who are best able to give it, from the poor themselves.

A. Y.

APPENDIX.

I. CHATTRIS, *Cambridgeshire.*

MR. SCOTT gives one account upon the subject of the poor which is very interesting. Till within six or seven years they were permitted to build houses upon the waste ; and erected great numbers, taking only the ground the cottage stood on: but the commoners complaining, they were stopped from doing it ; and since have not been able to secure a dwelling without purchasing a bit of land for that purpose. The ease of doing it before was a great encouragement to industry and good morals ; for a young couple who intended marrying were frugal and saving, in order to have money enough to provide their habitation. Some of these did not cost them more than from 10 to 15*l*. They used to be in a comfortable state till the late scarcities, but now very much distressed ; and the class just above, who will not take from the rates, have been, perhaps, the most distressed of all. The poor have eaten barley bread of a very bad

quality. Many keep a pig, but scarcely any a cow. Before the acts for regulating the commons passed, many, to the number of about 60, kept cows on the commons; but when it became necessary by those acts to prove their rights, they could not do that, and were deprived and forced to part with their cows: this was severely felt, and ought to have been guarded against.

Walk with Mr. Scott to view the cottages built on the waste at the entrance from March, they are crowded together in a manner that marks the caution with which they took land for this purpose: some of them were built for the sum of 7 or 8*l.* with clay, clay chimnies, the timber black oak; these consist only of one small room. They are almost universally inhabited by the proprietors. Such as possess them have no relief from the parish. Some have sold; and this seems probably the cause of stopping the increase of buildings, which thus may have increased the *parish* poor: but caused in such cases by the want of a good garden and a cow.

About twenty houses built annually for some years.

The above case of cottages built on a waste marks what would take place in most parts of the kingdom if permission were given. The extent to which the population of this country

would be carried would have no bounds, but they are scarcely any where allowed to do it. The fear of bringing burthens on the parish is every where the restraining motive, and shews that in this branch of our political economy we are as yet but children. But in great waste estates, such as are possessed on moors and mountains, how easy would it be for proprietors thus to improve by peopling them ! See the case of Sir W. Osborn, in Ireland.—*Tour in Ireland.*

What, however, are we to say to the striking fact, that the possession of a mere miserable cottage, built for 8 or 10l. without garden and without live stock, keeping the proprietor from the parish ? Is it possible that such a fact can be contemplated without amazement at that voluntary blindness to so palpable a mean of lessening, if not doing away poor rates altogether ? There is a magic, an enchantment in property, even of this curtailed and wretched nature, that works wonders in no other way to be effected. If a poor cottage will do this, what would not a good garden effect ? What would not a cow in addition produce ?

II. BLOFIELD, *Norfolk,*

Contains about 2000 acres, of which 700 are heath. It is one of the parishes not yet enclosed which I examined for the sake of comparison,

The soil is rich, letting much of it from 30 to 40s. an acre. There are fifteen farms in it which are here called large, and six smaller.

1730	Baptisms	19	Burials	16
1	_____	10	_____	7
2	_____	25	_____	15
3	_____	10	_____	5
4	_____	26	_____	4
5	_____	15	_____	6
6	_____	16	_____	10
7	_____	12	_____	13
8	_____	12	_____	11
9	_____	18	_____	9

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1780	Baptisms	22	Burials	23
1	_____	23	_____	12
2	_____	19	_____	13
3	_____	22	_____	13
4	_____	19	_____	14
5	_____	24	_____	15
6	_____	16	_____	8
7	_____	21	_____	20
8	_____	17	_____	15
9	_____	16	_____	6

199

139

(56)

1790	Baptisms	24	Burials	10
1	<u> </u>	7	<u> </u>	10
2	<u> </u>	15	<u> </u>	10
3	<u> </u>	14	<u> </u>	8
4	<u> </u>	7	<u> </u>	12
5	<u> </u>	14	<u> </u>	7
6	<u> </u>	16	<u> </u>	16
7	<u> </u>	10	<u> </u>	6
8	<u> </u>	23	<u> </u>	5
9	<u> </u>	16	<u> </u>	6
		<u>146</u>		<u>90</u>

First period, Baptisms	-	163
Burials	-	96
Increase	-	67
Second period, Baptisms	-	199
Burials	-	139
Increase	-	60
Last period, Baptisms	-	146
Burials	-	90
Increase	-	56

The result is remarkable: here are all the signs of depopulation, according either to the difference between births and burials, or to the number of the baptisms. Expressing my surprise at this to the Rev. Mr. Carlos, the rector, I asked him if there had been an increase of seccaries who did not baptize in the church? Not one in the parish. Have any houses been pulled down? No: but many new ones built on the heath. Building houses on the heath catching my attention, I inquired about the circumstance; and was informed that Mr. Burrough, the lord of the manor, had, by connivance, permitted many poor people to build cottages on the common, a part of the great region of Moushold heath, so much of which is now under acts of enclosure. But Mr. Carlos observed, that the possessors of commonable right houses had more than once pulled down the fences by which these people had encroached on the common. By turning to his books he found 25 who paid him a small matter for tithe. The case now appeared still more interesting; and I went immediately to the common, a mile and half off, to examine what these poor fellows had done. As it was harvest time, several of their houses were locked up, and without any inhabitants at home. But I remarked that they had gardens, with pretty good crops of potatoes; some outsheds, &c. for their

cow, and a cart ; fruit trees, and a certain appearance of comfort which struck the eye in several respects ; a good plenty not only of flag (parings) well secured for winter, but also wood, as roots, &c. Some had a pig in the sty.

One man, Rushmer, was threshing in a very little new-built barn, who informed me that the premises of three acres belonged to his mother, and that he and his wife and seven children lived with her and did the work, with little interruption of his labour for a farmer. He had turnips, oats, (the crop 16 coombs an acre), potatoes, layer, and a garden. Near to this cottage was a small one built last spring, and a piece, under potatoes, taken from the common ; this belonged to his brother in law Dawson. They burn earth for manuring turnips, &c. of which I saw several heaps, containing some loads. He informed me that there were more than twenty-five of these cottages, some with more some with less land ; most of them had stock : he had one cow and a mare. For tilling their land they borrow of one another. After this I conversed with another, and I found their accounts agreed well. They assured me that none of them were ever chargeable to the parish, though some had in the late hard times applied : the farmers called them the Moushold folks, and would give them

nothing. Some of the families have six and seven children. They said they were the only people who made any use of the common, for it was good for nothing to the farmers. I asked them particularly if they did not think that the other poor of the parish, if they could be assisted with the loan of a small sum, with permission to build and take what land they could cultivate, would not gladly do it and renounce all parochial support? They had no doubt of it; but some assistance would be necessary, which they could easily gradually repay.

Reflecting in the evening at Acle on this case, and calculating the result to the parish by cutting off relief from so large a population in such an inconsiderable place as Blofield, I made the benefit to the parish so great that I determined, in order to have the facts more clearly, to return by Blofield instead of going to Yarmouth, and thence north to Nettisheard and North Walsham. This I executed; Mr. Carlos favoured me with the names and amount of their tithe; I went and viewed more of their little farms, conversed with ten or a dozen, by which I found that too many of them had mortgaged their possessions. Some gardens I saw so well cultivated, and the banks and fences so well kept, that they presented a pleasing spectacle of industry. All agreed that they had nothing from

the parish except a widow 6d. a week. One of the most intelligent gave me the following list of them, their land, and stock.

Names.		Acres.	Cows.	Horses.
Syble	-	1	1	0
Hye	-	1½	1	1
Woodcock (widow)		0¼	1	0
Johnson (ditto)		garden	0	0
Lilly	-	1¼	1	1
Moll	-	0¾	0	0
Hardingham	-	2	1	1
Ditto	-	garden	0	0
Puttock	-	0¼	2	1
Sutton	-	1	1	1
Bayes	-	1½	2	1
Osborn	-	1½	1	1
Butterfont	-	2	1	1
Messey	-	1½	0	1
Fenn	-	2	0	0
Ditto	-	0¼	0	1
Lilliston	-	1¼	1	1
Neale	-	3	1	1
Haydon	-	3½	1	1
Loveday	-	garden	1	1
Bussy	-	2	1	1
Turnmore	-	1	0	0
Moor	-	garden	1	1
Rushmere	-	3	1	1

Names.	Acres.	Cows.	Horses.
Boatwright	3	2	1
Symonds (widow)	$3\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Jones	$0\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Dawson	$0\frac{1}{2}$	0	0
Webb	$0\frac{1}{4}$	1	0
Clarke	$1\frac{1}{4}$	1	0
	<hr/> 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ <hr/>	<hr/> 23 <hr/>	<hr/> 18 <hr/>

Besides asses, pigs, geese, and poultry,

I next wrote a note requesting some intelligence from Mr. Saul, a principal farmer at Blofield, and overseer of the poor, stating the object of my inquiries. He was so obliging as to pass an hour or two with me, bringing the parish book. I found from the opening conversation that he had prejudices against these people, not only from general notions, but from the burthens they brought on the parish. This was the very point I wished to ascertain. He stated from the book that from Michaelmas 1792 to Easter 1793, they burthened the parish by nine receiving weekly collection to the amount of 15s. 6d. a week. That from Michaelmas 1796 to Easter 1797, ten had 21s. a week. That from Michaelmas 1798 to Easter 1799 eleven had collections. That from Michaelmas 1799 to Easter 1800, eight had 1rs. 6d. a week; besides occasional re-

lief to the amount of 3l. 8s. That in the article of clothing, during the same time, they had also been assisted; the whole parish costing 11l. Finding in the names recited, several not to be found in the preceding list, I had, in some measure, a confirmation of what these poor people had told me: the chief of these burthens came by families, who having been driven by necessity to sell their little possessions, then became paupers and fell on the parish. However, we will carry even this circumstance to their account (which ought not to be done, as it rather forms a double proof of the benefit of their having land) and thus state the amount of the burthen they have brought through this half year of severe scarcity.

	£.	s.	d.
By the week, 11s. 6d. for 27 weeks	15	10	6
Occasional - - - - -	-	3	8 0
Suppose half the clothing - - - - -	-	5	10 0
	<hr/>		
	24	8	6
	<hr/>		

There are thirty families, which, at five to a family, make a population of 150 people; all at Blofield.

Now this burthen must be compared with what results from the rest of the poor.

The average of the baptisms for the last ten years is 14. If one in 30 be born, the population of the parish is 420 souls. There are 32 farmers and others who can never rank in the class of poor; these, at five per family, are 160; which deducted from 420, there remain 260 who are or may be chargeable. Take from these 150, the number of the Mousholders, and the poor are divided into two classes of 150 Moushold folk and 110 others.

Mr. Saul, from the parish book, informed me that the total expence for this half year, in which the Mousholders cost, as above, was 174l.* From this, take 24l. the expence of Moushold heath, there remain 150l. the half year's charge of 110 poor not Mousholders.

If 110 poor cost 150l. what would 260,	
the total number of poor, cost, if none	£.
were Mousholders? Answer	354
Instead of which it is	174
Saving to the parish in half a year of scarcity	180

And, this effected by forty acres enclosed from the heath, with a summer run for 23 cows and

* Total in the book 217l. 11s. 3½d. of which Whitton, a parish combined with them, pays one fifth, or 43l.; remain for Blofield 174l.

18 horses. Value this commonage by what space you please, it is most clearly evident that these poor people *yield*, though not *pay*, such a rent for this heath as all the parliamentary enclosures upon earth can never carry it to.

Accuracy in such calculations is unattainable; the result is so great that it affords room for various deductions and different views of the object, supposing any one desirous of such different constructions: but I conceive and am well convinced, that, place it in what point of view you please, the result will still speak strongly and clearly the immense benefit which results from these people having stolen forty acres of common.

I have given the detail from the documents furnished: it is of little consequence whether the actual saving stated above be really the precise sum of 180l. or not. The observations I make are applicable to the case if half that sum had been struck off; and I should contend, if the balance had been only a fair rent for the land and stock, that the benefit would be unquestionable.

It may be answered, as it was observed by Mr. Saul, that they would not have had these people, nor so many other poor, if the common had not attracted them. This is fair; nor am I giving any panegyric on commons: I wish to

see them all enclosed ; but not by any means at the expence of the poor, when they afford such ample means of providing well for all parties. The question is not what would have been the result had there been none, but what are the means of turning it to the best advantage. Let me suppose, that during the last twenty years this parish, instead of viewing these Mousholders with a very evil eye, had assisted them judiciously in their exertions ; had prevented, if possible, their selling their little possessions (this might probably have been very easily prevented, and the 24l. burthen stated above have been avoided altogether) ; suppose the common had been held out as a reward to an honest industry, and that it might have been understood that those who would give up all parish support after being established should be assisted by small loans, to be repaid weekly, to enable them to establish themselves : if 40 acres have had the effect of keeping 150 souls on 24l. for half a year of severe scarcity, and including people who have no longer a rod of land on the common ; what might not have been done by better and greater exertions, and encouraging the poor thus to provide for themselves, instead of burthening the parish to the amount of 174l. in half a year ? If 40 acres have thus provided for 150 people, 70 acres would in proportion have provided for

260, or the whole poor of the parish; and instead of rates now being four shillings in the pound on the rent of the parish (eight shillings in the pound on the half rent), or near 300l. a year, they, most evidently, need not have been one shilling; and the whole effected by lending money or materials and cows, to enable these people to maintain themselves, instead of being a public burthen on the rest of the parish. Such encouragement, held out and operating as a reward to honest industry, would have changed the manners of these people; they would have felt clearly the benefit of behaving decently, soberly, and orderly; they would have wanted no plunder, when the loan of what was necessary could be had by behaving well. You may by good government make mankind what you please, and such a small parish as this might have been governed as a well-regulated family.

Thus it might have been: 70 acres of enclosures, with the right of common, would have swept out all poor rates, and saved 300l. a year. Money must have been lent, but it would have been repaid. The parish would always have had full power in their hands, by the law which takes the property of the poor if they become actually chargeable. Now what enclosure, or what other improvement to be made could equal this? The 260 people would have had 71 head of stock;

70 acres, therefore, and a commonage for 71 head of horses and cows (very easily, by a friendly superintendence, to have been turned more to cows, by lessening horses), would have paid the parish 300l. a year! Very different have been the ideas upon this subject: the poor people's fences have been more than once levelled to the ground, and, as I was informed, not with the approbation of Mr. Burroughs, the lord of the manor; nor is it likely that a gentleman, who permitted the little encroachment of building a house, would then deny the object for which the house was built the subsistence to be derived from a garden and a small close or two. I called at that gentleman's house, to have conversed with him on the subject; but, very unfortunately, he was from home.

To have done with the past, and come to the future: the common is not yet under any enclosure act, no bill has been brought into Parliament for the purpose, but it is in contemplation. And here arises an important question, what to do with these people, and how to proceed in the enclosure? 300l. a year from 70 acres and the commonage of 70 head of cattle is a profit that will exceed any thing else to be made of such a portion of the heath. If the act should be framed, like so many others, with

a sweeping clause* against encroachments, half these people will be thrown at once upon the parish, all of them deeply injured, and the poor rates may reasonably be expected to increase enormously in fact, though not in appearance, by a pound rate; the rental of the parish may and will so increase that the rate will be much less per pound, though the sum raised will be considerably more. The parish is, therefore, not to look only at the present payment, great as it is, but at what it will probably be when the chargeable poor are greatly increased. If an allotment of a large portion would sink, or nearly sink the rates, it would answer thus as well as in any other way in which it could be applied, and would be equally beneficial to all the proprietors. Such allotment to be parochial ground, to be divided amongst the poor gradually, as exigencies might require, and

* This is the clause alluded to, I copy it from the Poor-law act:

‘ Be it further Enacted, That all encroachments which
 ‘ at any time within twenty years now last past have been
 ‘ made upon the said commons and waste grounds shall be
 ‘ deemed part of the lands and grounds to be divided and
 ‘ allotted by virtue of this act, *and shall be* divided and al-
 ‘ lotted accordingly; and in case any dispute shall arise
 ‘ touching any such encroachment, such dispute shall be
 ‘ finally determined by the said commissioners.’



under such regulations as should (in the act) cut off all future burthens to the parish by means of such poor. When the benefit in prospect is so great that no loss could be sustained; and when the mass of human happiness would be so materially enlarged, it is well worth a serious consideration ; for most evident it is, that here are materials wherewith to construct the future felicity of the poor, without the least injury to any proprietor.

The number of encroachments on this common exceed those of any other parish on Moushold heath ; but in Plumstead, adjoining, now under an act, there are some to the extent of 12 or 15 acres. I passed along the heath from Walsham (seven miles) to Norwich, and found them very rare.

The greatest evil upon Moushold heath is the paring the surface for fuel. This is ruin, and has destroyed that end of the heath which bears towards Norwich. This under any system should be prevented.

A few particulars of the Moushold folk's husbandry at Blofield deserve noting. They understand potatoes well ; and assured me, that in this scarcity they should have starved, if it had not been for this root. Earth ashes an excellent manure for them. Some years ago one Bayes, of Hambledon, pared and burnt half an

acre and nine perches, and planted potatoes, and he sold to the value of 14l. 10s. from it. They marle what they can of their land, which is a heavy charge, and difficult to effect. In making their harvest bargains, some of them get a load or two of the farmers they work for. As to the winter support of their stock, they buy straw of the farmers at 12 or 14s. a load; but they are forced, on account of that cheap price, to part with much muck at 2s. a load. They have bought turnips also; and pay as high as 1s. a rod for them; yet most have turnips of their own. The root, however, anburys till the land is marled. They have many fruit trees, much garden stuff, and some of their hedges are in excellent order. I viewed their little farms with singular pleasure, yet with a sinking heart at the thought of the evils an ill-framed enclosure act might bring upon them. Suppose the commons divided in proportion to value of the lands already enclosed throughout it, the regulation so common in enclosures, the whole mass of these people are ruined at one stroke. A cottager here who keeps three cows might get half an acre. To set fire to his house would be an equal favour.

III. HETHERSET, *Norfolk*.

Upon the enclosure of this parish, including 430 acres of common, an extraordinary circumstance occurred. By the act the commissioners were empowered to give the cottagers under five pounds a year an option of having double allotments in an arrangement *ad valorem*, without their being at any expence, if they would have such allotments left a common for their rated (stinted) use, and vested in trustees to see perpetual justice ; and this on the best part, called Lynch, qualited at 26s. an acre, and near their houses. If they refused this, they were to have their allotments distinct to themselves, but single, not double portions, and to pay the expence with all other proprietors. It is remarkable, that though they had opposed the enclosure, yet they gave up all the great advantages offered by the act if their portions remained common, and all chose to have their shares to themselves. To the cottagers having from five to ten pounds per annum the option was also given in single portions, but to pay no expences. These also refused, and would have their shares, though to pay their portion of expence.

IV. WESTON COLVILL, *Cambridgeshire*.

On the enclosure several parcels of land were laid to the cottages whose owners had rights of common. Some had large gardens, others two or three acres. Some have in this scarcity had a trifle allowed them, but otherwise they are never put in the parish book at all, being in a comfortable situation ; but they do not all keep cows ; they join for ploughing, and have bits of corn, which they like better.

V. NAZEING, *Essex*.

Act passed 1778.

This was not an act of enclosure, but a very extraordinary regulation of a most valuable common of 453 acres. The case perhaps is singular. By an utter neglect of the fences surrounding the common there was some danger of the bounds being lost, and of encroachments which might gradually take in material parts of it. It was also stocked in a manner that deprived the poor of the benefit which they might under a better arrangement have reaped from so fine a tract of land. By the act it was

vested in trustees, who were empowered to levy a tax of 6d. per annum for each sheep and 2s. 6d. for each head of greater cattle, to form a fund on which to borrow money enough to pay for the act, and for fencing the common and other necessary charges, but cut off from paying themselves any sum exceeding 40s. per annum for their own expences : the whole business seeming to have no other object but benevolence to the poor. There are 100 common rights, and all are made equal, from the poorest cottager to the lord of the manor himself, and all are inalienable from the cottages. By the act twenty sheep and four beasts were allowed to each right ; but every circumstance rested within the power of the trustees, who have reduced this to ten sheep and two head of horses or cattle. William Palmer, Esq. who possesses considerable property here, had the praise-worthy humanity to offer to lay down money to enable every poor man otherwise unable to find stock to buy ten sheep ; the produce of which was to be his until he was repaid, and then to remain the cottagers'. It is a fact much deserving the most serious attention, that every man who accepted the offer (which very many did) repaid the money within two years, some in a shorter term : a circumstance that proves what may be done with attention when the object is sincerely

to assist the poor, perhaps in the manner of all others the most useful, by giving them live stock and the means of feeding it.

Here I put a question to my informant (the Reverend Mr. Auber) : How do they support their stock in winter? (A question which has often been asked me when I have proposed land for the poor.) They manage how they can ; they buy hay, they exert themselves successfully and honestly, and they thrive under the assistance thus derived from the common. All letting to any persons that do not belong to the parish is prohibited strictly, but it is permitted amongst their own people, and the rent is from 50s. to 3l.

I was very eager to know what the effect had been in relation to poor rates, and fortunately the parish books from 1742 are preserved ; by these I found the following progress of this tax :

Years.	Rates in the Pound.			Amount:		
		s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1743	—	1	2	147	7	1
1744	—	1	3	148	8	5
1745	—	1	3	148	8	5
1746	—	1	3	146	0	0
1747	—	1	7	188	13	6
1748	—	1	6	177	5	10
1749	—	1	3	148	8	6
1751	—	1	2	137	9	5

Years.	Rates in the Pound,		Amount.		
	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1754	—	1 0	—	141	17 2
1762	—	1 4	—	165	0 0
1767	—	1 5			
1772	—	1 11			
1774	—	2 2			
The common regulated in 1778.					
1781	—	2 4	—	299	3 0
1786	—	2 0			
1787	—	2 2			
1788	—	2 6			
1795	—	3 8	—	448	13 4
1796	—	—	—	507	15 4
1797	—	3 0	—	430	9 0
1798	—	2 9	—	311	12 9
1799	—	4 0	—	578	16 6

I am sorry, therefore, to find that this humane scheme has not apparently had much effect in preventing the rise of rates which has taken place every where. We do not, however, know that they would not have been much higher had it not been for this establishment, as four shillings in the pound at present must be esteemed low.

As every circumstance in such a parish becomes interesting, I copied the following detail from the rate at four shillings :

Farms.		Rent.	Rate.		
No.		£.	£.	s.	d.
1	—	145	—	29	0 0
2	—	122	—	24	8 0
3	—	95	—	19	0 0
4	—	84	—	16	16 0
5	—	53	—	10	12 0
6	—	67	—	13	8 0
7	—	55	—	11	0 0
8	—	193	—	38	12 0
9	—	96	—	19	4 0
10	—	166	—	33	4 0
11	—	85	—	17	0 0
12	—	64	—	12	16 0
13	—	290	—	58	0 0
14	—	60	—	12	0 0
15	—	93	—	18	12 0

Fifteen farms

above 50l. — 1668

No. 16	—	33	—	6	12 0
17	—	47	—	9	8 0
18	—	20	—	4	0 0
19	—	34	—	6	16 0
20	—	24	—	4	16 0
21	—	32	—	6	8 0

Carried forward 1858

371 12 0

Farms.		Rent.		Rate.		
		£.		£.	s.	d.
Brought forward		1858	—	371	12	0
No. 22	—	33	—	6	12	0
23	—	33	—	6	12	0
24	—	20	—	4	0	0
25	—	39	—	7	16	0
26	—	21	—	4	4	0
27	—	20	—	4	0	0
28	—	30	—	6	0	0
29	—	41	an error	4	4	0
30	—	20	—	4	0	0
31	—	22	—	4	8	0
32	—	25	—	5	0	0
33	—	23	—	4	12	0
34	—	42	—	8	8	0
35	—	24	—	4	16	0
36	—	25	—	5	0	0
Twenty - one		—				
farms from		2276				
20l. to 50l.						
rent 608l.						
No. 37	—	6	—	1	4	0
38	—	4	—	0	16	0
39	—	8	—	1	12	0
40	—	18	—	3	12	0
41	—	12	—	2	8	0
Carried forward		2324	—	460	16	0

Farms.		Rent.		Rate.		
		£.		£.	s.	d.
Brought forward		2324	—	460	16	0
No. 42	—	3	—	0	12	0
43	—	12	—	2	8	0
44	—	5	—	1	0	0
45	—	2	—	0	8	0
46	—	5	—	1	0	0
47	—	5	—	1	0	0
48	—	17	—	3	8	0
49	—	11	—	2	4	0
50	—	6	—	1	4	0
51	—	3	—	0	12	0
52	—	12	—	2	8	0
53	—	17	—	3	8	0
54	—	2	—	0	8	0
55	—	12	—	2	8	0
56	—	5	—	1	0	0
57	—	2	—	0	8	0
58	—	7	—	1	8	0
59	—	6	—	1	4	0
Twenty-three farms under		—	—	<hr/>		
2ol. a year,		2456	—	487	4	0
rent 18ol.						
Outdwellers		—	—	90	0	0
				<hr/>		
				577	4	0
				<hr/>		

Those who complain of farms being engrossed would do well to consider such details as these. Were the whole kingdom examined, it would be found that farms, on an average, are small. Whatever may have occasioned the benevolent system adopted for this common not operating in preventing poor rates rising, it certainly cannot be attributed to farms being monopolized.

Population.

Twenty-two years before the act passed.

1756	Baptisms	27	Burials	14
7	_____	23	_____	10
8	_____	14	_____	13
9	_____	23	_____	13
60	_____	21	_____	17
1	_____	11	_____	8
2	_____	15	_____	11
3	_____	15	_____	8
4	_____	21	_____	8
5	_____	9	_____	13
6	_____	18	_____	17
7	_____	20	_____	16
8	_____	12	_____	8
9	_____	19	_____	9
70	_____	20	_____	14
Carried forward		268		179

Br. forward	Baptisms	268	Burials	179
1771	_____	19	_____	11
2	_____	16	_____	19
3	_____	16	_____	20
4	_____	20	_____	13
5	_____	22	_____	16
6	_____	19	_____	4
7	_____	18	_____	13
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		398		275
		<hr/>		<hr/>

Twenty-two years since the act.

1778	Baptisms	19	Burials	9
9	_____	17	_____	16
80	_____	15	_____	8
1	_____	25	_____	18
2	_____	19	_____	13
3	_____	23	_____	11
4	_____	32	_____	18
5	_____	17	_____	12
6	_____	34	_____	13
7	_____	33	_____	13
8	_____	22	_____	11
9	_____	19	_____	5
90	_____	20	_____	22
		<hr/>		<hr/>
Carried forward	-	295	-	169

(81)

Br. forward	Baptisms	295	Burials	169
1791	_____	25	_____	10
2	_____	23	_____	17
3	_____	23	_____	13
4	_____	22	_____	13
5	_____	27	_____	16
6	_____	16	_____	12
7	_____	24	_____	11
8	_____	20	_____	15
9	_____	22	_____	4
		_____		_____
		497		280
		_____		_____

22 years before the act,	Baptisms	-	398
	Burials	-	265

	Increase	-	133

22 years since the act,	Baptisms	-	497
	Burials	-	280

	Increase	-	217

Nothing can be more satisfactory than this comparison.

G

The circumstance in the regulation of this common which is most worthy of attention is *the effect of assistance given to the poor to stock land*. Before I came to Nazeing, telling Mr. Johnson at Parndon where I was going, his observation was, *they were a sad, lawless set of people before Mr. Palmer took them in hand, but now there is not a better set in the country*. And what were the means? Giving them property in live stock. — Not through great expences, but only advancing money, all repaid in two years! And it deserves notice that this was done for a purpose by no means complete, leaving them, in one respect, in a situation against which so much has been urged to me on this journey—that the poor having a common for summer is only a temptation for making them thieves in the winter. Nor is this assertion wholly without foundation, but in the case before us attention and humane superintendence have obviated the evil. When an honest, quiet conduct stands the best chance of future assistance, should it be wanted, can we suppose that the poor will not weigh the effect of their conduct on their own future welfare, having once so amply received the proof of a disposition to assist? However, the system here is by no means equal to every man having his own little farm, there is not equal employment for the children; nor

are sheep so beneficial to a poor family as a cow. Poor rates also, though still moderate, have risen much. Severe winters must necessarily come, and, when hay is very dear, drive them to great difficulties. The evident and most useful conclusion to be drawn is, that money may be advanced to poor labourers, in order to enable them to stock land, safely, and without any *expence*. This is exceedingly material; and removing, perhaps, the greatest difficulty of all in the way of making them generally occupiers of it. In the articles Blofield and Wymondham, which take in the circumstance of much waste land, I have shown the vast effects of giving allotments to the poor; but so many parishes are without wastes, that some other method must in such be adopted. They admit none but occupation at a fair rent, with assistance to stock.

VI. ALDERSHOT AND WORPLESDEN.

In passing the wastes from Bagshot to Farnham, in the parish of Aldershot observing some cottages surrounded by a few small enclosures, which carried the appearance of *encroachments*, I examined several of them.

Jacob Johnson has about three roods of land, and no cow, only a pig.

Edward Smith two cows and a heifer.

John Barnard two cows and a heifer.

William Greenham a pig.

William Young no cows, but good potatoes in his plot.

William Far a pig, and very fine potatoes close to the turnpike, at some distance from his cottage.

Dolly has two cows and a heifer, and about two acres of land.

Johnson and Dolly informed me that they paid poor rates, each of them 1l. 2s. for the present year; Johnson, that he also paid 4s. land tax; that the others also paid these taxes, and that none of them ever received any relief from the parish.

They said the common was a very good one for feeding cows. Dolly has had 4lb. of butter per week from one little Welsh cow that had the common only. They buy hay in winter, or hop bines, and straw, managing in this respect as well as they can.

Potatoes their most beneficial crop. When they plant first from the waste, they trench two spits deep, by which means the upper spit rots completely; but the expence in labour very heavy. Labour in winter 1s. 6d., in summer 2s..

The case of these people affords a fresh instance of the great importance of the poor possessing their cottages in property, with land enough for two cows, and potatoes, &c. In a scarcity that has doubled the rates over the greatest part of the kingdom, these men, by the property of a miserable cottage, and from half an acre to two acres of land, with two or three cows, have been saved from becoming a burthen, and forced to be an assistance to the parish.

In passing from Farnham to Worplesden, I met in the latter parish with a very different instance, but still bearing upon the same object. I saw a hovel rather dug out of, than built upon the slope of the hill upon the waste (a part of the boundless heaths which disgrace all this country), and apparently as bad as any one I had ever seen in Ireland. Entering, I found the woman at home, who was miserably ragged. The cot consisted of one small room; the floor, the earth; the walls and the chimney, earth or sods; there had been a hole left for a window, but not being able to afford glass, it was stopped up for warmth; the bed was on the floor; no bedstead; a little straw, on that a poor bed, one blanket, one bit of a sheet, and a rag or two of something else. Every sign of poverty. The woman was 60; her husband, she said, not quite

so old, but infirm. He had had seven children, but three buried; three out, and one girl of 14 in the workhouse. They had no live stock, except a few chickens. They had taken only a garden of about a rood from the common. There is not a justice of the peace in England who, having viewed what I did, would not have ordered relief, if the man was not in full earnings, at good wages. But having this miserable property, they apply for no more than what is done; their child, I suppose the only comfort of their lives while at home, in the workhouse. From this instance, a remarkable one, it is evident that these people hold the possession of such a wretched hovel and garden free from rent as an object which outweighs various other comforts and assistance which they would of course have in a different situation; and that rather than go into the workhouse to be supported by the parish, they bear almost every evil which penury can inflict. If it is, on the other hand, alledged, that the possession of land in this case produces evil; I reply, that must be judged by the persons who suffer it. But what would have been the case if the cottage had been a few feet larger, for a crib for the child separated from the father and mother, a bedstead, and some bedding; a cow, and a pig? Such additions would have changed the face of

every thing, and at the same time saved the parish the maintenance of the child in the work-house. I produce the case to show what the poor will submit to for the sake of property in land. It proves the principle which by prudent assistance would do every thing where wastes are found ; but the exertions must be cherished, not opposed. The man's name Batty.

VII. CHOBHAM, *Surrey.*

The extent of this parish is unknown ; but I was assured that the wastes, which extend near to Frimley, are almost equal to those of Windlesham, that contain probably 12,000 acres. As to enclosures, a rate at 1s. in the pound raises 200l. : this marks a rated rental of 4000l. a year. Within 40 years they raised 148l. a year for the poor ; now five rates, or 1000l. Within 10 years from 1s. 6d. to 2s. in the pound sufficed, or from 300 to 400l. They have, consequently, much more than doubled in that period, and at least doubled by reason of the late scarcities.

Within 20 years there have been about 20 cottages erected on the common, by sufferance of Lord Onslow, the lord of the manor, &c. ; but parish assistance is given to them, accord-

ing to their necessity, equally with the other poor.

Wishing to examine into their state more particularly, I went to some of their cottages, and was sorry to find that they had little or no live stock. John Ottery, who has about half an acre of land, has a wife, and two children at home, and never had any thing from the parish. George Ottery, no children; of course nothing from the parish. John Ottery the younger, one child, and another just coming; nothing from the parish. Gosden has five children, and five shillings a week from the parish. Smither, four children, and also receives parochial assistance. Sleet, three children, and is assisted. Munday, seven children; allowed by the parish. Widow Russel, who has her son, his wife, and four children live with her, has 2s. a week. Jennoway, White, and Stone have also cottages and bits of land. Of all these not one has a cow, a sheep, or any thing but a little poultry, except Smither and Russel, having each a pig. I found some of their gardens very weakly cultivated, for want of live stock to make dung; and the farmers have their ashes for carting their turf. A cow they said would be a great comfort, and enable them to raise better crops of potatoes; and would have kept them from the parish, they thought, entirely.

Such instances as these do not show what the merit of the system is, for live stock is essential.

Labour is well paid, 10s. a week in winter, and from 12 to 15s. in summer; in harvest 30s.: but much work done by the piéce. Within about 40 years it was 6s. in winter.

Twenty years ago the parish contained 214 families, and 940 souls. Two years ago 1060.

Scarcely any of the poor keep cows or other cattle; the farmers very few on the common, but some sheep. Fuel the great produce of this vast waste!

I cannot take my leave of this parish without observing upon one circumstance which nearly concerns the well being of the poor. A few months past Mr. Thornton, of Clapham, presented Mr. Cecil, of St. John's chapel, Bedford row, with this vicarage and the rectory of the adjoining parish of Bisley. In general it has been observed, that places surrounded by immense commons are usually among the most disorderly and licentious. When Mr. Cecil came he found the churches almost deserted (I had this fact from more than one); but to me it was a most gratifying sight to see them both not merely full, but crowded, and the congregations uncommonly attentive. An Anabaptist meeting, which had gained considerably on the re-

gular church, nearly deserted in it's turn. From this fact I draw the conclusion, that those true old church of England doctrines which Mr. Wilberforce calls *vital christianity* are the doctrines for the poor ; and, when preached with feeling, will make their way to the hearts of men who find nothing in the common pulpit morals that will call them to public worship. The mere politician knows the immense consequence *in his views* of the poor of a country being sober, diligent, honest, and moral. The landlord and the farmer feel it in the rates, and every class of society are connected with the whole worldly benefit, were no other and higher considerations in question.

WOKING, *Surrey.*

Contiguous to the preceding, contains 7 or 8000 acres of waste. They have about a dozen cottages that are encroachments on the common, and parish assistance is given to the inhabitants according to circumstances. Poor rates are 8s. in the pound, half rack rent ; before the scarcity were 3s. or 3s. 6d. A rate of 1s. raises 120l. rated rental therefore 2400l. ; and being half, the known amount is 4800l. a year. The poor used to keep cows, but do not at present. The farmers feed the heaths with

sheep. Lord Onslow lord of the manor. The general husbandry, 1, turnips; 2, barley; 3, clover; 4, wheat.

I was unable to examine this parish; but here are the two component ingredients of wastes and rates, wherewith to effect the improvement of the condition of the poor.

VIII. FARNHAM, *Surrey*.

This parish contains about 15,000 acres; of which 2 or 3000, or perhaps more, are waste.

In November 1800 there were 1150 persons relieved out of the house. In August last they had 30l. a week, and now 71l. 6s. 125 in the workhouse let to farm. Poor rate for half a year, at Lady day, five shillings in the pound, raised

£. 1776 15 0
At Michaelmas 9s. and raised 3198 7 6

Together, for the year 4975 2 6

Total poor 1275; expence therefore 3l. 18s. a head per annum, or 19l. 10s. per family of five.

Militia families, sickness, passes, doctors, &c. average 10l. a week. Workhouse paid weekly; last week, November 20, it was 31l. 0s. 10d. at the rate of 1614l. a year, or

12l. 18s. 2d. a head, and 64l. 10s. 10d. for a family of five.

Upon a part of the wastes entering the town from Odiham, there have been erected, through the humane permission of the bishop, about twenty cottages, the owners of which have taken in large pieces of the common; some to the amount of half an acre, an acre, two acres, and I believe even to three acres. I viewed several of them; and conversing with Thomas Rich's wife, her husband in the militia, found her an intelligent, industrious, humble creature; and who knew them all.

Thomas Rich, his wife, and six children, have 10s. 6d. a week from the parish, by the militia law; J. Norris, in the militia, and the same allowance; W. and J. Lun, James Warner, the widow Saunders, W. Binfold, W. Warner, R. Wheeler, and J. Haw all receive something from the parish; but I. Lamport, J. Mathews, W. Kimber, W. Stovel, Stephen Stovel, W. Patrick, I. Bear, R. Young, and James Stovel have nothing; and those that do take parish allowance have less than other poor, differently circumstanced, the militia men's wives excepted. The woman (Rich) assured me, what is easy to believe, that she and six young children, and big of a seventh, none of whom earn any thing regularly, should have perished, if it

had not been for the great assistance derived from her land, which she has, in her husband's absence, cultivated with her own hands, even to digging for sowing rye and wheat; her rye yielding four bushels, and her wheat four bushels and three quarters. She had also cabbages, potatoes, and other things. But these people, nineteen in all, are deficient in live stock: there are but seven cows among them. Perhaps the most essential object which attaches to land in the hands of the poor.

In conversation upon the subject of these encroachments, it was urged to me, as a proof that the system was a bad one, that these poor people run in debt to build the cottage, which remains a heavy burthen, that sinks them in poverty. Let us analyze this point, and examine how much truth there is in it. Rich contracted with a carpenter at Farnham to build his cottage for 30*l.* and he pays 30*s.* a year. The rent of cottages is high, and 2*l.* 10*s.* 3*l.* even to 4*l.* and more are given. How then can the renting a cottage at the lowest known rate be an injury to the man? But here is land, which nearly half supports a family of seven. But more still, here is something further, not so easily calculated, the greatest spur to industry which actuates the human soul—they work upon their own property; and this

calls into existence a quantity of labour which otherwise would have no existence at all. What would this poor woman (Rich) with six young children have done in a town cottage? Nothing but take care of her house and family. The case is clear, they could not in any other system possible to be devised possess so many comforts for the payment of 30s. rent : and is not a low rent a great assistance to a cottager? The argument will not hold water a moment, the facts are too clear against it. And who are the best judges to appeal to? To your theory, who never was in the situation ; or to the people themselves who have been in both situations, and who joyfully quitted that to which you give the preference, in order to plunge into evils which exist only in your imagination. Your finding misery amongst them is nothing against the system. It is but half effected. You should have assisted, instead of condemning them. They should all have cows, by means of money lent on Mr. Palmer's plan, and drawn back by annual payments. You look with an evil eye on their exertions, at the moment you ought to be giving heart and hand to aid and assist them. Every soul on this waste might very easily be raised above parish assistance, and rates lessened, instead of increasing.

From Farnham, passing on to Waverley Ab-

bey, the seat of B. Thompson, Esq. I had a better opportunity of examining more cases of a similar nature, dedicating a whole day to wandering through the extensive wastes in that vicinity, and examining them carefully.

Fry hires a house and garden of about an acre at 5l. a year; between the children by his present and a former wife he has ten, of which eight are at home, part belonging to Farnham and part to Bedington. They have 3s. 6d. a week from the parish, but according to the price of flour. He has taken about half an acre from the common on a sand slope so steep that it is no easy matter to stand on it; has formed it into terraces, and brought most of it into cultivation. Has no live stock.

Percy has six children at home: no live stock: allowance from the parish according to the price of flour, now 2s. 2½d. a week. His cottage has been built nine years, owes nothing on it. I asked him which he would prefer, his dependance on the parish, or to have a cow bought for him and to repay the value in four or five years, by an equal annual payment. Said he would prefer the cow greatly.

William Jones, a very comfortable cottage and a good garden, &c. He has only one girl at home. Has a cow, a yearling, a colt, and two pigs. Nothing from the parish. A good stack

of hop bines, which in doing the work of hop grounds are cut off at Midsummer and dried and stacked as hay for cows; if they have none to feed these are sold commonly for 1s. 6d. an acre; they are the perquisite of the men who do the work, and are esteemed better for cows than ordinary hay.

Boyd, seventy years old, and his wife the same age. No live stock except one pig; has brought up twelve children, and never had any thing from the parish except in a heavy small pox year. Owes 12l. or 13l. to the miller.

Thomas Little, five children, all young, at home; has 4s. 9½d. a week from the parish: he has above half an acre from the common, and his father a bit adjoining. No live stock but a pig. His cottage built five years, cost very little; owes nothing on it.

Isaac Jones, seven children at home; has 7s. 4½d. a week from the parish. No live stock but a pig. His cottage built five years, cost 10l.; owes 3l. His land about one acre; he has a part of it in hops, which last year sold for 7l. 17s. 6d.; this year he has 48 lb. but the price 20 guineas a cwt. He has a very nice piece of turnips after wheat which yielded him 4½ bushels. He does hop work, and sells his bines: lamented his not having a cow; and would prefer it, repaying the price in three or four years, to

his allowance from the parish, which varies with the price of flour ; at 17s. 8d. a bushel he has 6s. when 12s. a bushel it was 4s. a week, and at 8 or 9s. only 2s. 6d. He considered and calculated before he made his reply, but decided clearly for the cow.

Gardiner. Her husband ran away five years ago, and left her with three children. She has 6s. 2d. a week from the parish at present. A pig.

Gardiner, 66 years old ; three children at home, and 5s. 2½d. a week from the parish. Cottage built three years, owes nothing on it. Very willing to try a cow, repaying 40s. a year, and have nothing from the parish.

Binfold, four children at home. Has only about a rood from the common. Allowance a week from the parish 3s. 3d. No live stock. Willing to try a cow, provided they had a place to keep milk in.

Thomas Hack, eight children at home, eleven living. Nothing from the parish all summer, now 2s. a week. No live stock but a pig. Cottage built a year, cost above 20l. owes 6l. 6s. on it. Would prefer a cow by far, repaying the value, and have nothing from the parish. The reason of the allowance being so small is their having three girls grown up.

Thomas Hack the younger, two children and

one coming.' 1s. 8d. from the parish weekly. Cottage built two years, by himself; owes nothing on it. Has a rupture, and is very poor.

Cranham, three children at home. Cottage built eight years, owes 19l. on it, and eight years' interest. It is of brick and tile, and has two stories. 2s. 9d. a week from the parish. A sow and four pigs. About an acre of good land in a green-sward bottom. The woman thought a cow a fine thing, and would do any thing to get one; but not much ability to calculate. Sowed three pecks of wheat this year, and got six bushels.

Bartlet owes 12l. on his cottage. A pig. Has eight children at home. 7s. 5d. a week from the parish, now flour is high. About an acre from the common. Sowed a bushel and half of wheat, and got near nine. Dug the ground, and his wife and children drew the harrow to cover it, working even by moonlight. When I asked the woman the question of the cow, she considered; observed that the allowance of six shillings was only while flour was so very high, it would sink with the price of flour. She had heard her husband often say, that if the gentlemen would let him take in *half an acre more, or so*, he would freely give up all allowance from the parish. Supposing the loose expression meant an acre, still the rent he wished to pay

is enormous, for she said she should have 2s. 6d. a week though flour was low. As to a cow, she had no doubt about it, that it would be far better than the parish; but whether to repay the value, she knew not.

Chandler, his cottage built nine or ten years; owes 50l. on it. Has had ten children, seven at home. Nothing from the parish. Has a cow, two young heifers, and two pigs. For winter he mows some hay in his ground, and puts out to keep. Has better than two acres. He thinks a cow better than five shillings a week from the parish.

Parrot, his cottage built eight years, cost between 30 and 40l.; owes nothing on it. Five children at home. Has had parish allowance of late, 3s. 3½d. a week. He has one pig. Would much rather have a cow, and repay the value, than any allowance from the parish. He should be able to manage as others in the winter.

Quenal, his cottage built five years, cost 9l.; owes nothing. Has about a rood of land, one pig, and no cow; two children at home, and nothing from the parish.

Cole has about three quarters of an acre, keeps a sow and pigs. Three children at home and one out. Never any thing from the parish. Thinks the part of the common where he lives

too poor for a cow ; but to have ten sheep, *beath croppers*, would be a great advantage. He lives near Waverly, and has milk from Mr. Thompson with the rest of the poor.

Knight, his cottage cost about 40l. He has near three acres, one cow, a little horse, and a pig. Has had ten children, four out and two at home. Nothing from the parish. Could not live without a cow, but in misery ; would prefer it to five shillings a week from the parish. He hires half an acre of grass, to mow hay, giving 30s. rent ; besides which he has a good stack of hop bines.

John Alderton, five children at home, three out. 2s. 9½d. a week from the parish. When his children had the small pox, had four, five, and even six shillings a week. His cottage cost near 30l. His land near an acre. Could not exist, were it not for the potatoes it yields. Had also six bushels of wheat. Has a pig. Would rather have a cow, and repay the value, than what he receives or expects from the parish. He has ten shillings a week the year round for his labour, but boarded in hop time and harvest.

Richard Binfield has half an acre, well planted with bearing fruit trees ; no cow, no pig, nor any children at home. Nothing from the parish. His cottage a most wretched, miserable

hovel, much worse than any thing I have seen in the remotest parts of Ireland.

John Binfield. He in the workhouse ; but his wife and two girls grown, one of them 23, at home, in a hovel worse than the preceding. Imagination can hardly conceive any thing so miserable. It is quite open to the weather on one side ; no bedstead, only straw and some rags on the ground ; filth and vermin. 4s. 6d. a week from the parish. The spot a rood of uncultivated waste and a dunghill (the cabin) in the middle*.

Fanny Hammond. Her husband in the army, gone three years. Four children at home. 8s. 2½d. a week from the parish. The garden half an acre. The cottage cost 20l. ; owes nothing on it. Has a pig.

Lawrence owes 20l. on the cottage and six years' interest. Has about an acre. Four children at home. Nothing from the parish. Thinks a cow would be better than five shillings a week from the parish.

* Miserable as this situation must be, it was not wretched enough to secure this poor creature from oppression. Since I was there, a farmer, *suspecting* her of stealing some hop poles, pulled down the cottage and set it on fire, turning the inhabitant adrift : a new sort of summary jurisdiction. This note may be read by those who are able to inquire properly into the affair, for I trust that such a conduct will not pass without inquiry.

Milberry, three children at home, no cow, no pig. Has 4s. 4d. now from the parish. The man afflicted with the rheumatism.

Bryant. His cottage mortgaged for 57l. Pays the interest regularly. One acre. Has six children at home, and loses much of his labour by a most painful rupture. Had 5s. a week from the parish when he earned nothing, now 4s. 4d. Had seven young children, and was last February and March in a wretched situation. Would much rather have a cow and give up all parish allowance.

Love hires a new cottage and a garden to pay five per cent. Knows not on what sum. One child, no live stock, nothing from the parish.

Baker owes nothing on his cottage. Has an acre and three quarters, and some hops. Had a cow eight years, forced to sell it four years ago. Knows, therefore, what it is to have one and to go without; and would, without any doubt, prefer it to 5s. a week. Used to fat his calves from 40s. to 3l.; and his cow, a Welsh one, gave four pounds of butter a week; fed her with hop vines and a few turnips in winter. Has a pig, but no children, nor any thing from the parish.

Crawt. His cottage cost 10l. and his own labour; owes 6l. on it. An acre. Four young children at home. Parish allowance 2s. 3d. but

according to price of flour ; nothing in hop time or harvest, the case of all. No cow, no pig. Would rather have a cow, and repay it, than have any parish allowance.

One hundred and forty-seven persons are supported thus by the parish at the expence of 4l. 8s. 1½d. a week in time of severe scarcity. It is only seven pence per head per week : nor would they cost a penny, if they had cows.

IX. BUXTEAD, *Sussex*.

At Buxtead, in Ashdown forest, I found two encroachments : one very lately, by a poor man named Wheatley, who took in some land first, and, upon gaining the lord of the manor's permission, built a cottage of stone, in a substantial manner, which cost between 50 and 60l. but he is in debt above 20 of it. He has about two acres of land, chiefly under potatoes ; the crop good. He means oats after them, for want of lime for wheat ; but to lay down to grass, in order that, if ever he be able to buy a cow, he may have some hay for her. He has five young children, and six shillings a week from the parish : but is so desirous of a cow, which he esteems a very great blessing to a family, that he would much rather have one given him than his allowance from the parish ; which he would

most cheerfully give up in that case. He has a hog. This sort of forest land, he says, is and ought to be always broken up by denshiring for potatoes, turnips, or oats, as may suit ; he did it for potatoes.

Chisman, within sight, has a cottage and two acres, taken in some years ago by one Winset. It is now let.

X. MAYFIELD, *Sussex*.

Progress of Rates.

					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1785	in the pound, at two thirds rent	-			7	0
1786	ditto	-	-	-	6	6
1787	ditto	-	-	-	7	9
1788	ditto	-	-	-	8	0
1789	ditto	-	-	-	7	6
1790	ditto	-	-	-	9	0
1791	ditto	-	-	-	10	0
1792	ditto	-	-	-	9	6
1793	ditto	-	-	-	10	6
1794	ditto	-	-	-	10	0
1795	ditto	-	-	-	13	0
1796	ditto	-	-	-	13	0
1797	ditto, on rack rent	-	-	-	7	0
1798	ditto	-	-	-	7	0
1799	ditto	-	-	-	9	6
1800	half a year	-	-	-	7	0

	£.	s.	d.
Rates raised last half year	-	1972	15 6
The preceding half	-	1547	5 9
		<hr/>	
		*3520	1 3

Being for the year 12s. 6d. in the pound, rack rent.

They observe, and justly, that if this tax advance in future anything like what it has done lately, it will swallow up the whole rent of the land. At Rotherfield, Burwash, Wadhurst, Buxted, Walden, Tyeshurst, and Heathfield, rates are, on an average, as high as at Mayfield. They are the adjoining parishes.

The baptisms being 51 in a year, if one in 30 be born annually, the population of the parish is about 1500. There are 179 who pay to the poor rate; which, at five to a family, imply a population of 895: deduct these from 1500, and there remain 605 labouring poor, &c. However, as there are some few Anabaptists, let us call the total 1600; then there will be 705 labouring poor. The sum of 3520l. divided amongst them, gives 5l. per head per annum, or 25l. a year to a family of five; and as there must be some single and other persons who re-

* This is not a regular year, as divided above; but two halves of two distinct years.

ceive nothing, this sum must be below the truth, enormous as it is. One would think rates high enough here to induce better management. There are above 80 in the work-house.

But the parish affords an instance of the effect of management and attention to the poor, from which, had the hint been pursued, the happiest consequences might gradually have been produced. One Goringe, a poor labourer, living near the common, with permission of the parish, took in about three acres from it; and the parish assisted him nearly to the amount of buying a cow, on his promising to be industrious and less burthensome for the future. He had a wife and four children, and used to come often for relief, and had it at times largely. From the time the cow was bought, which was about a year and half ago, he has had nothing, not even grist, though the whole period has been a time of scarcity, and that in which he used to be assisted a period of cheap prices, comparatively with the late ones. This instance, so decisive of a thousand useful conclusions, made me ask the person who related it, who had served the office of overseer, whether in his opinion, if an offer was made to the most burthensome families in the parish of having a small cottage built for them on the common,

three acres enclosed to each, and a cow purchased and given, they would not, for the whole, most readily give up all parish relief in future? (and note the relief amounts from 20 to 30l. a year to some) He replied, 'Without any doubt, they would be glad of it, they would not hesitate in the choice a moment.' Now if this does not prove what immense savings may be made in providing for the poor where there are commons, nothing can; nor will the parochial economy of the kingdom afford a fact worthy of attention. The cow they gave to Goringe was probably the best-laid-out money this parish ever dispensed: but as to drawing conclusions, and making their commons lessen their poor rates, all is torpid; they are fast asleep.

Suppose a cottage building to cost 30l. a cow 10l. 10s. and a hog 1l. 5s. and that three acres were fenced very well, as in Norfolk, with a hedge, ditch, and two rows of quick, for 2s. 6d. a rod; with one cross fence: there would be 108 rods, which, at 2s. 6d. are 13l. 10s.

Cottage	-	-	-	£. 30	0	-
Cow	-	-	-	-	10	10
Hog	-	-	-	-	1	5
Fences	-	-	-	-	13	10
						<hr/>
						55 5
						<hr/>

The interest, at five per cent. 2l. 15s. or one shilling and three farthings a week.

To set him better a-going, if half an acre was pared, burnt, and planted with potatoes, it would add 2l. more, in all 57l. 5s. Another half acre, pared and burnt, and sowed with grasses on one earth, would add 30s. more; and suppose sundries 25s. the whole expence would be 60l.: the interest of which would be 1s. 2d. per week. If this, as a weekly allowance for a burthensome family, is considered, it will not seem surprising that the rent really paid by cottagers in the saving of rates is found so very great, as I have more than once stated it in this journey. Hence it appears how very essential an object it is to devise every possible method of lowering the expence of building cottages. Where there are commons, this is, beyond all comparison, the cheapest method of providing for the poor. In Sussex and a great part of Surrey it has been a rule with magistrates to suppose a man in work able to support himself, a wife, and two children, and to order 2s. 6d. a week for every child beyond two: this makes the parish expence 5s. a week for four children; -7s. 6d. for five; 10s. for six; 12s. 6d. for seven; 15s. for eight. Compare these sums with fourteen pence!!

The commons of this parish being 400 acres,

would, at the larger allowance of four acres each, provide for 100 families, or 500 people. 100 establishments at 60l. are 6000l. or demanding the annual interest of 300l. Deduct 500 paupers from their present total number of labouring poor, there would not remain above thirty or forty families in the parish unprovided for ; a large portion of which may be supposed at present to have no assistance in some, and very little in other cases : and thus an expence of 3000l. a year would be nearly reduced to 300l. As to encouragement of industry, morals, and comfort for the families provided for, the improvement would be very great indeed.

It will, of course, be observed, that this estimate proceeds on the supposition that one hundred new cottages would be necessary ; a case that never could happen, for a large part, at least, might remain in their present habitations : and if the extent of the parish is urged, or of other parishes, and that the commons are not sufficiently scattered for the local convenience of habitations, it would be no difficult matter to obviate any such circumstances under a general act of Parliament, by exchanges of old enclosures for portions of common which might suit proprietors as well as the poor.

What a miserable object is the rent of 400

acres of common, under a parliamentary enclosure, as arranged at present in such enclosures, with the saving of 3000, or 2000, or even 1000*l.* a year in poor rates! Yet is this case every where to be realized where rates are high and commons extensive, that is through half the kingdom.

XI. WIMPOLE, PETWORTH, WOBURN.

Cottagers' Gardens.

Lord Hardwicke gives land to all his cottagers for gardens, and observing that they were not good cultivators of them, he offered premiums for their encouragement:

	<i>£. s. d.</i>		
To that cottager whose garden shall through the summer be in the best order and most beneficially cultivated	-	-	1 11 6
To the next best	-	-	1 1 0
To the next best	-	-	0 10 6

These to each of three parishes, Wimpole, Arrington, and Whaddon. The effect has been such that great attention was immediately paid to weeding, clearing, and cropping; first crops

were cleared and second ones put in, and a new spirit excited*. They keep bees also, and I observed many hives in several of their gardens. Pigs also and poultry are kept.

The Earl of Egremont's cottagers, who are very numerous, have all large gardens, and most of them orchards; some, conveniently situated for them, cows. His Lordship approves of cows upon soils rich enough to feed them; objects to any arable land, or keeping a horse, which is ruinous. Gardens a great object; and remarks that if you give a piece of the roughest land to a cottager, he will soon bring it into profitable cultivation, while a slovenly farmer will neglect and leave it as he found it. Some of his cottagers have vines against their houses, which they train in order to make, with the assistance of some sugar, a cask of liquor worth their attention.

Clophill, in Bedfordshire, offers a very pleas-

* The premiums were adjudged November 4, 1800, and gained by

Wimpole.—1, Richard Yanlie; 2, Thomas Gad; 3, W. Robison. Much merit also in W. Willinet, John Rogers, and James Prime.

Arrington.—1, Simon Stay; 2, R. Hunt; 3, C. Thevenley. Merit in W. Collier, L. Landers, and John Hill.

Whaddon.—1, S. Leet; 2, John Weyman; 3, S. Hefford.

Great satisfaction, and the general effect most promising. His Lordship designs premiums for bees also.

ing spectacle in point of gardens to every cottage. It is a continued village above a mile in length; the soil a rich sand, and the gardens render the cottages spectacles of comfort; they are very well cultivated, and the crops of every sort fine: fruit trees in great plenty, flowers every where, and many lace bobbins briskly moving. Potatoes pretty largely cultivated. The population of this place must be very great, yet poor rates are not more than 5s. in the pound, which is here, however, reckoned very high. Lace and productive gardens, though too small, account for it.

Crawley, near Woburn, before the enclosure, was a scene of filth and ruins: the road a bog, and the houses hogsties. After enclosing, the Duke of Bedford built several cottages new, repaired others, made the road an excellent one, fenced and assigned gardens, paved them, and cleared away obstructions; the whole is now a scene of comfort, and every cottage has a good garden, full of cultivation. A dismal spectacle of poverty is become a clean, well-built, cheerful village.

Mr. Custance, of Cambridge, who has the management of Mr. Vernon's estate in Suffolk, has laid $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land to each cottage, and taken the inhabitants from being tenants to the farmers to be tenants to the landlord. They

pay 2l. 2s. for the house, and the same rent for land as the farmers. One paid the farmer 5l. rent for his house and an acre of meadow; this man had 3½ acres more given, and his rent 4l. 14s. 6d. They were all much delighted, and had no doubt of ~~not~~ doing well. Some almost cried for joy. Mr. Custance also requires of the farmers to plant from one to three acres of potatoes, according to the size of the farms, and to sell them to the poor. The farmers threaten to rate them to the poor; this has been done at Kingston, in Cambridgeshire: a cottager pays 5l. rent for half an acre of meadow, and he is rated at 4l. and paid last year 2os to the poor. This is abominable.

XII. WYMONDHAM, *Norfolk.*

Instanced here not for what has been done, but its vast capabilities in extent of common and greatness of its burthens by rates.

Famous for its extensive commons; never surveyed; but I am informed they have been estimated at 1600, 1800, and 2000 acres. A gentleman who is well acquainted with them thinks that they amount to 18 or 1900. Part joins Hetherset new enclosure, and is of a soil equally fertile; no doubt is entertained of the whole let-

ting, if enclosed, for 20s. to 25s. an acre. They intercommon with Besthorpe, Attleborough, the two Morleys, Wicklethayte, Wramplingham, Melton, Ashfield Thorpe, and Fundenhall; all which parishes have large commons. I inquired for encroachments in the nature of those of my Blofield friends, but was sorry to find they are here of a different nature—frauds in stocking.

The benefit to the poor is little or nothing further than the keeping a few geese; as to cows, there are very few. The common is so overstocked with sheep that cows would be starved on it; and these sheep are mostly in the hands of jobbers, who hire small spots contiguous for no other purpose. These men monopolize almost the whole, and are considered in the country as an absolute nuisance. I crossed the common to Melton and Wramplingham, returning by Kimberley, and in many miles I did not see a single cow; there may, however, be a few on the Lizard common, but very few belonging to the poor; only sheep and a few ponies, mares, and colts. Rots are frequent.

To calculate the enormous loss the public suffers by this great and fertile tract remaining in such a condition would be an easy matter, it must strike every one.

Population.

1780	Baptisms	119	Burials	61
1	_____	109	_____	66
2	_____	87	_____	88
3	_____	103	_____	76
4	_____	76	_____	67
5	_____	94	_____	63
6	_____	83	_____	62
7	_____	101	_____	40
8	_____	93	_____	40
9	_____	98	_____	63
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		963		652
		<hr/>		<hr/>

1790	_____	104	_____	65
1	_____	97	_____	55
2	_____	118	_____	69
3	_____	92	_____	52
4	_____	118	_____	69
5	_____	102	_____	63
6	_____	108	_____	65
7	_____	130	_____	46
8	_____	102	_____	38
9	_____	107	_____	46
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		1078		568
		<hr/>		<hr/>

In 1747 the vicar took a very accurate account of the people:

Families	686
Souls	3213

In 1751 the vicar baptized Thomas and Susan, twins of John Thompson, husbandman; the fifth time of having twins: seven of the ten then living and likely to live.

The parish of Wymondham, when the payments to the house of industry were at the lowest, contributed 1184l. per annum, and when at the highest 4152l. At Midsummer 1798, at the former ratio, they had 119 persons in the house. At Midsummer 1800, at the higher payment, they had 185. The average expence of maintenance in the house for four years, from 1797 to 1800, was 13l. 4s. 8d. a head, or for a family of five 66l. 3s. 4d. Combine this method of providing for their poor with their enormous common, and, if we draw our ideas from what has been effected by the Mousholders at Blofield in establishing themselves without assistance, we may easily conceive what the parish of Wymondham might do, upon a better soil, in giving their poor allotments, with assistance to enclose, stock, and cultivate. Three acres of land, a cow, a pig, seed potatoes, beans, &c. (say 20l.) per family, offered in property to the poor in bar of future relief, would be most joyfully

accepted, and three families established for ever, for the annual expence of keeping one in the house of industry!!! In this supposition, nine acres of land and 66l. would pay an interest of 66l. 3s. 4d.; deduct that of the money, 3l. 6s.; remain 63l. 17s. 4d. *See* *322* for nine acres. Instead of this application, they leave their common to be eaten up by jobbers; and upon an enclosure, which would be thought a capital improvement, would be well contented with 20s. or 25s. an acre with the poor left starving, and rates doubled in a few years. If it cost 66l. per family to form the establishment, still it would be changing an annual burthen into the payment for a single year, and our conclusions must be the same. But the case of Blofield enables us to conjecture that if three acres, on which they might build their hut whenever they were able, and assistance in cow, &c. to the amount of 20l. were offered to the poor, they would most cheerfully prefer it even to the chance of ever going into a house of industry, which they abhor as a prison.

The Mousholders have gradually established themselves on worse land without any such assistance: to calculate how they did it is no easy matter. If you set down a house at so much, and minute the et ceteras of furniture, cow, pig, tools, &c. it seems impossible to you, an overseer, or

a gentleman; but you forget what is incalculable—the economy, saving, privation, energy, industry, and vigour which independence and property confer. You forget also what is worth all the rest—the blessing of the providence of the Almighty on an undertaking to banish poverty, and sow the seeds of felicity to the miserable.

The object is of such immense importance that it is worth viewing in every light. Suppose that each family had three acres, and 53l. for their establishment, according to a calculation given me in this county :

	£.	s.	d.
House	20	0	0
Fencing three acres in four pieces, to join each other establishment, eighty rods, at 3s.	12	0	0
Furniture additional	10	0	0
A cow	8	0	0
A pig	1	10	0
A rood of hemp seed	0	8	0
Half an acre of potatoe seed	1	6	0
	<hr/>		
	52	18	0

Four hundred and fourteen families, the calculated amount of their poor, at 53l. amount to 21,942l.; the interest of which, could it be borrowed, would be 1095l. instead of above 4000l. a year paid to the house.

(1819)

October 3, 1819

3d

Families

31d

XIII. Bocking, Essex.

Hence it appears that the population of the parish has varied very little. The supposition

Quantity

The parish contains about 5000 acres, estimated by the rates; the rated rental is £500, of which about 500l. houses; and it being supposed to average in that estimation about 15s. an acre, brings the acres to 5075.

3d

3d

1

17

Rental

2

Rated as above; but it is not to be supposed that the payment is in a correct ratio. They talk of having a new rate on this account. The real rental must of course be estimated higher than 15s.

3d

17

7

3d

3d

3

3d

Population, 1793

9

Total, on enumeration,	-	2943
Females	- 827	1600
Males	-	1343
Girls under fifteen	-	603
Boys ditto	- 20	533
Women above seventy	-	33
Men ditto	- 20	45
Number of families	-	634
Weavers	-	163
Dissenters	- 205	171

(0120)

October 3, 1726.

Families - - - 638

Souls - - - 3164

Hence it appears that the population of the parish has varied very little. The supposition at present is, that the people of late have decreased considerably.

Population.

1780 Baptisms 44 Burials 148

1 - - - 92 - - - 148

2 - - - 75 - - - 117

3 - - - 70 - - - 84

4 - - - 81 - - - 146

5 - - - 96 - - - 108

6 - - - 81 - - - 75

7 - - - 71 - - - 82

8 - - - 66 - - - 70

9 - - - 75 - - - 69

10 - - - 748 - - - 1027

11 - - - - - 1027

12 - - - - - 1027

13 - - - - - 1027

14 - - - 69 - - - 69

15 - - - 73 - - - 80

16 - - - 80 - - - 99

17 - - - 71 - - - 106

18 - - - - - 106

Carried forward - 293 245

Br. forward Baptisms	293	Burials	345
1794	65	72	
5	58	77	
6	55	55	
7	60	70	
8	78	87	
9	58	96	
667	822		
First period, Burials	1027		
Baptisms	748		
Decrease	279		
Second period, Burials	822		
Baptisms	667		
Decrease	155		

But in 1793, of families	634
Dissenters, who never baptize at church	171
Church of England	463
To a family	5
	2315

* Many hundreds inoculated, not one died.

Average baptisms for seven years preceding 1793 were fifty, there were in that period, consequently, one born to every forty-six persons.

It is very difficult to ascertain what the population is at present. On the register the signs of loss are striking; but, on the other hand, dissenters, who do not baptize in the church, are admitted to have increased, rather than the contrary. If one in 46 only is baptized at present, the average of the last five years being 61 baptisms, that number multiplied by 46 would make 2806 of the church of England; to which add 171 families of dissenters at five, or 855, this would make the total present population 3661: which would not agree in the least with the general opinion of a decline, nor with the many houses shut up or gone to ruin. It seems the safer way to state the population rather under than over the number of 1793, we will therefore suppose the people about 3000.

One hundred and fifteen resident persons, by Mr. Andrews' account (the perpetual overseer), pay to the poor rates. These, at six to a family, are 690; which, deducted from the total, leave 2310 of the inferior classes. A few years ago he numbered what he calls *the poor*; and found them in all, many resident at Braintree, to amount to 2000: of which 1500 were re-

lieved by the parish. He is of opinion that the number relieved at present is about 1700, which may be called, at five-to-a-family, 340 families.

Bocking Poor Rate from Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1799, being Fifteen Years.

s. d.

From Michaelmas 1784 to Michaelmas 1785	7 0
From ditto 1785 to ditto 1786	6 9
From ditto 1786 to ditto 1787	7 3
From ditto 1787 to ditto 1788	10 0
From ditto 1788 to ditto 1789	12 3
From ditto 1789 to ditto 1790	12 6
From ditto 1790 to ditto 1791	12 3
From ditto 1791 to ditto 1792	9 6
From ditto 1792 to ditto 1793	10 6
From ditto 1793 to ditto 1794	12 6
From ditto 1794 to ditto 1795	16 6
From ditto 1795 to ditto 1796	21 0
From ditto 1796 to ditto 1797	20 6
From ditto 1797 to ditto 1798	19 0
From ditto 1798 to ditto 1799	18 0

About eight or nine years ago the rental was raised, and therefore the advance is still greater than it seems.

From last Christmas to Easter the rates were 61-10-12
 From Easter to Midsummer - 60-10-17
 From Midsummer to Michaelmas - 0 6
 And there is no doubt of the present quarter being 60 9

In the pound for the year - £. 1 10

If the rental be really one fourth higher than rated, still this burthen will prove 22s. 6d. in the pound, which is enormous.

The rated rental being 4360l. thirty shillings in the pound raises 6840l. By the militia men entering the regular forces they lost, and do lose 350l. a year; should this be deducted, there will remain 6490l. Let us further deduct 490l. for county rates and various other objects, and call the burthen of the poor 6000l. a year. That sum, divided amongst 340 families, gives the charge of 17l. 12s. per family per annum, or 3l. 10s. 4d. per head per annum, or 6s. 8d. per family per week through the year. Many have as much as eight shillings a week, and some more, even to eleven shillings a week, rent included. This article of rent only costs about 200l. a year.

They have a workhouse, in which are 98 at present. This house I conceive to be miserably managed. I saw the working room, in which they were spinning and carding wool. The master told me they did not earn their small beer, probable enough by the return of the earnings, only 12l. 11s. 11d. for a quarter of a year. The expence was 213l. besides flour; and the flour account for two months, the last of Mr. Savill's being overseer, amounted to 56l. 14s. per month: but not all, probably, for the house.

This account raises the expence of this workhouse to a very great amount indeed, no less than 1524l. for a year, if the whole were as chargeable as this quarter; but as that could not be the case, let us, allowing very amply, call the expence 1000l. and the number one hundred: this is 10l. a head, and 50l. for a family of five.

The misery amongst the poor, notwithstanding the immense sum expended for them, is terrible. In lodging, bedding, clothes, and food the account, confirmed by what I saw, is all distressing. The whole town an object which calls loudly for some effective remedy to be applied to a wretched system which beggars the inhabitants of one class without re-

moving the misery of the others. Discontents and murmurs rise and perplexing: barns burnt, all watched with anxiety and alarm; the whole presenting an aspect that demands an activity of exertion and a novelty of system not likely to be adopted.

Expenditure.

I took the particulars of two months' expences as follow :

	£.	s.	d.
Weekly pay	522	0	2
Clothes	94	6	1
Cooper, carpenter, blacksmith, ma- son, &c.	36	14	7
Wood and coal	11	9	10
Shoes	28	2	11
Beer	15	15	0
Malt	20	7	0
Flour	113	8	0
Meat	19	7	6
Hogs and pease	18	9	0
Rent	4	0	0
Militia	120	6	8
Fees	6	16	2

Carried forward 1011 2 11

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	1011	2	11
Doctor	40	5	6
County rate	15	9	2
Supplies	45	9	11
	1112	7	6

This seems to confirm the workhouse account; for, deducting the weekly pay, all the clothes, shoes, militia fees, doctor, and county, there remain 287l. which make 1722l. for a year; when I took it, therefore, at only 1000l. I must have been under the mark.

Improvements considered.

The system of giving land to the poor, which I have so often recommended in other cases where commons are found, cannot be executed here upon the same principle as in those parishes; but it deserves to be inquired into how far the preceding facts will permit us to suggest the more difficult business of executing it at Bocking. Where land is all occupied, good, and very dear, it was evident that if a little would not do the business the attempt would be vain. In company with Mr. Andrews, the overseer,

I questioned such men as he sent for for the purpose: all except one appeared to be clear-headed, sensible men, who answered with decision, but not without attention and consideration. My object was to examine what effect a single acre of land would have.

James Rayner, weaver, seven children, 5s. a week from the parish; had much rather have an acre of land fenced, and pigs, and other assistance to the value of 10l. and give up the parish entirely.

John Spurge, weaver, five children, 5s. a week. Had much rather have an acre of land, a hog, and seed-potatoes, to the value of 10l. to be set a-going, than have any thing from the parish without any doubt.

James Clarke, weaver, four children, 2s. 6d. a week. Would much rather have an acre of land fenced, a pig, seed, and the value of 10l. to be set a-going, than any thing he has, or has the chance of from the parish. Is sure he could get a good living for his family out of it.

Joseph Ambrose, widower, weaver, seven children at home, one out; 7s. a week from the parish, and rent paid. Does not know whether it would answer or not; doubtful, as his children are young, and has no wife to help him; very likely it would be much better, but knows not how to make any estimate.

William Clarke, weaver, four small children

and a wife; 2s. a week. Trades in apples and herrings. Would much rather have an acre and seed (but 2s. a week till the land produce something) than anything from the parish; though he must in winter have an increased allowance.

Joseph May, gardener, a wife and eight children; 3s. a week from the parish. Jobs in other persons' gardens, at 2s. a day and a quart of beer. Has no doubt about it. He would rather have an acre, by far, than what he has, or can have from the parish; but it would make a vast difference to live near or far from it: half an acre near him would be better than an acre at a distance. He would cultivate potatoes, beans, pease, and cabbage, to feed his family.

Joseph Tyler, weaver and husbandman, a wife and eight children; seven at home; 4s. 6d. a week from the parish. Would rather have an acre of land and potatoes, and the value of 10l. in pigs and other things, than his parish allowance, or any thing he can expect from it.

All precluded any payment of poor rates.

Many others were sent to, but they were from home. Mr. Andrews thought, however, that if every man in the parish were applied to, 19 in 20 would be of the same opinion.

But the difficulty remains, how land is to be had for them in such a parish as this.

Let us suppose the land to be let at 20s. an acre, and to sell at the high valuation of thirty years' purchase, gross rent:

	£. 4.
An acre	30 0
A hog	1 5
Fencing	3 0
Seed potatoes, beans, &c.	2 2
Sundries	10 0
	<hr/>
	46 7
Sixteen weeks' allowance, at 4s. 6d.	3 13
	<hr/>
	50 0

Hence it is evident that 50l. would thus establish each family.

But when the quantity of land is small, much would depend on a careful and assiduous cultivation of it; more than in the case of larger tracts for cows.

To instigate them to this sort of industry, and at the same time to induce a general good behaviour, I would propose a premium to that family whose acre was best and most productively cultivated; and their behaviour, in point of honesty and sobriety, such as not to preclude the adjudication. This premium should be a comfortable cottage to be built upon their

acre, and to be given, like the land, rent free, and equally inalienable. The hint is taken from Lord Hardwicke's premiums to his cottagers. A second and a third premium might be given, of some other object, for the second and third in merit. The expence of the three would not exceed one hundred pounds per annum; and would, I conceive, have a very great effect in adding to the products of the land and to the good morals of the people. If, then, the parish are contented with an expence of at least 50l. a year for the maintenance of every family in the workhouse (and probably it is a great deal more), I may surely ask whether they could have one word to object to the expending that sum for the perpetual establishment of a family? - Converting, as in the case of Wymondham, the annual payment into a single expenditure of the same sum?

Upon the allowances paid by the parish to the above mentioned poor, I must observe, that they will seem very small indeed in other districts not so heavily burthened as this place, and with such assistance it is not at all surprising that the poor should be in a wretched situation. I do not make this observation to imply that they can do more, rates at 30s. give a negative to the idea: but I urge it, and I cannot urge it too earnestly, that these allow-

ances are a most convincing proof, that every man of humanity in this place ought to lend a favourable and a most willing ear to any proposal for a new and totally different system than that which has raised the public burthens to a load scarcely supportable, while the poor are in a situation that must be melancholy to every man of opulence whose eye meets the indubitable characters of their distress.

Occupations.

Two hundred persons pay to the rate, of whom one hundred and fifteen reside in the parish.

Above 100l. a year, and to 319l.	-	-	14
From 50l. to 100l.	-	-	7
From 20l. to 50l.	-	-	17
Below 20l.	-	-	162

200

Employment.

This place was once famous for it's manufacture of baize, &c. demanded chiefly in the Spanish market. The war has distressed them greatly; and the successful rivalry of Yorkshire, by means of coals and machinery, has completed the ruin of the fabric here, and left

a very numerous poor absolutely without employment. This has induced some benevolent gentlemen to set on foot the hemp fabric. They could not have fixed on a better object, or one more likely to succeed ; but a man they procured for this purpose having turned out a rascal, and cheated them of 200l. has been a check to the undertaking, and induces much caution. They, however, employ about eighty hands ; and, with the blessing of Providence on so good a project, will, it is to be hoped, finally succeed. They ought, however, to raise their own hemp ; for which their soil is very well adapted. Mr. Lee, of the White Hart inn, has made a beginning with one acre, which succeeded well ; and his wheat after it was very fine.

Joseph Saville, Esq. with the same great object of employment for the poor, has introduced dibbling wheat. Last year he did 58 acres, and this year 50. The people have taken well to it. He gives 10s. an acre, and their earnings are highly beneficial. The wheat turned out the best he had on his large farm.

1801. Since the preceding account was written the distress of this place has greatly increased, insomuch that, I am informed, the poor rates now amount to 15s. a quarter, in which proportion they must raise 12,000l. a year.

Whatever was before observed, therefore, on the necessity of new measures will now speak most imperiously. The case of this and some other places in Essex have found the way into the Committee of the House of Commons, and public assistance has been granted; *still, however, to be dispensed in the old way, and on the old principles*: which can have no effect in cherishing the industry which shall support itself, but, on the contrary, the reverse of it.

With such a fund for borrowing money of the public as these enormous rates, is it not clear to demonstration that by far the cheapest and best mode of assistance would be to lend them money enough, on the credit of their rates, to establish a large portion of their poor in the manner I have proposed. It is immensely for the interest of the land owners to part with land for this object near the town, because *there* buildings would not be necessary; but if that cannot be done, they should purchase an estate wherever they can get it, under the sanction of an act of Parliament, and transplant their poor to it on the plan I have advised. In this case the additional expence would be that of building a cottage; let us suppose this 30l. in all 80l. per family.

32,000l. would provide for 400 families at 80l.

40,000*l.* the interest 2000*l.* would provide for 400 families at 100*l.*

Suppose the establishment, *£.*

As before *50*

Two acres more *60*

A cow *12*

122

48,800*l.* would provide for 400 families even at this expence, which buys and stocks three acres of good land ; and the interest is only 2440*l.* or not more than one fourth of their present rates.

Yet 400 families amount to 2000 souls, and 1700 the total relieved last autumn.

Evident it is that they might borrow 60,000*l.* and pay 3000*l.* (which would be but the half of their income in 1800) and save immensely by this plan ; which would change the misery of the poor to ease, comfort, and felicity.

Estates have been sold at 30*l.* an acre, and in their own vicinity ; which they might have bought, had an act to enable them been proposed.

XIV. BURY,

Is instanced here to insert the expence of maintaining the poor in the workhouse.

The total expence of all to the parish in and out of the house was, for the year ending the 21st of August 1800, as appears in the account published.*

	£.	s.	d.
	8373	2	7
Deduct outpoor	3761	14	4
Ditto one third of the clothing	190	14	10
Ditto law charges, &c.	285	9	10
Ditto raising gravel	66	3	0
Ditto stock in hand	267	16	2
Ditto cash in hand	13	5	8
	<hr/>		
	4585	3	10
Expence in the house	3787	18	9
	<hr/>		

The average number in the house was 294, therefore the expence per head amounts to 12l. 17s. 7d. and for a family of five persons 64l. 7s. 11d. Enough to purchase two acres of good land. Enough to purchase one acre and a half of good land and afford a surplus of 19l. 7s. 11d. to set a family a-going on it; thus converting the expence of a single year into a clearance from the parish for ever!

Let us suppose that workhouses had not been

* Correcting the account 100l. which the person favoured me with who drew it up.

established, and that I or any other projector made the proposition to form new establishments for the poor, by building very expensive houses in order to maintain a certain portion of paupers at the expence of 60l. per family per annum, I need not state what the reply would be. With what contempt would the idea be received! Yet this is the present wise system, not in all places at an equal charge, but every where at a very heavy expence.

To all the preceding instances I beg to add the case of the small parish in which I live: three cottages within my time have been built on the waste of a narrow road, with gardens to the amount only of a few rods; and three others are the cottagers' property, not stolen from the waste, but still with very trifling gardens. None of the owners have ever applied to the parish for relief, even in the last and present scarcity.

Such instances are, without doubt, to be found in most parishes, and it would be no improper measure to order every parish in the kingdom to make returns of all cottages the property of the cottagers, the space of land attached, the live stock possessed, and the sum or other relief given by the parish to every one distinctly. Such return, duly enforced for correctness, would probably set this question

in such a light as to leave very few or no doubts concerning so interesting an inquiry. And another measure, which ought immediately to be attended to, is that of requiring every petition to the House of Commons for a new enclosure to contain a specification of the acres of common or waste and the sum raised by poor rates in the year ending the quarter preceding such petition, that the House might see those facts, and how far they merited attention in the clauses of the act.

The following passages from the Board of Agriculture's Reports on this subject may not improperly be quoted here.

CHESHIRE.—It is the cottager who suffers most from the enclosure of commons and wastes, and raises difficulties in procuring assents; but were he permitted to occupy a share, the greatest difficulty would be removed.

WARWICK.—The produce of a cow to poor labourers and their families is as essentially necessary to their comfort as that most essential class of people are to the state. If the Board of Agriculture could induce appropriations of wastes to this purpose, the advantages to the nation would be immense.

YORK, North Riding.—Cottagers are very de-

...sirpus of obtaining small enclosures, for which they will give a much higher rent than the land would let for to a farmer.

—*Sir H. Vavasour.*

YORK, West Riding.—Cottages with three or four acres of land are very much wanted. From the want of a little land there is a most crying scarcity of that almost indispensable necessary for the rearing of children—milk. Cows amongst the poor diffuse the blessing of plenty, property, and a love of order, in a manner most beneficial to the community.—*Note.*

NORFOLK.—It is incumbent on all great farmers to lay two or three acres of grass land to each cottage, to enable the labourer to keep a cow and a pig; such a man is always a faithful servant, has a stake in the country, and never prompt to riot in times of sedition.

SCOTLAND.—Colonel Fullerton, in his letter to Lord Carrington, gives an instance that merits quoting. “Having occasion for a drainer, the writer established an industrious man of that profession in a cottage, having a garden, and near four acres of sandy ground, adjoining to a rabbit warren. The ground not worth more than 10s. an acre, the house and garden

worth 40s. more ; altogether 4l. per ann. The man was bound by contract to clear a main drain through a peat bog annually at the rate of 7l; the remainder of the year, when not employed on his own four acres, he had work at the rate of 1s. per day. He cropped above half an acre of sandy garden ground with pease, beans, carrots, turnips, kail, cabbage, and potatoes; the last in larger quantities than all the rest. He ploughed, manured, and sowed near two acres with oats, barley, and wheat for his own consumption. On the remainder, being sown grass, with the aid of fodder from his crop, he fed a cow, which yielded milk for the family. He brought up a calf, kept pigs, and a stock of poultry. He raised always a portion of flax, which was steeped and dressed at a flax mill, worked and spun into yarn by his wife and daughters. They afterwards bleached the yarn and sent it to the weaver, by whom it was woven into linen for the family use. In addition they procured every year a few fleeces of fine wool, which were manufactured into woollen drapery, and clothed the family; part of the worsted was knitted into stockings. Of course he was little at the mercy of high prices or

of fluctuating markets. In this manner and on these means he brought up a family of four sons and three daughters, gave them all complete education, fitted to their station, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and book-keeping. Every one of the sons are gone into respectable employments. Each of them could purchase the fee simple of the property on which he was bred. This appears the model of that condition in which small holders of common rights ought to be enabled to place themselves on receiving such a division as shall not exceed five acres."

XV. LINCOLN AND RUTLAND COTTAGERS.

A gentleman having been employed by the Board of Agriculture to examine a district of country in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland, where it is common management for the poor to have land and cows, and reports having been made from 48 parishes, containing 753 cottagers, a memoir on the subject is preparing. It will therefore be proper here merely to state that those 753 cottagers have amongst them 1194 cows, or, on an average, $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{17}$ cow each.

NOT ONE OF THEM RECEIVE ANY THING FROM THE PARISH! even in the present scarcity. The system is as much approved of by the farmers as it is by the poor people themselves. They are declared to be the most hard-working, diligent, sober, and industrious labourers who have land and cows; and a numerous meeting of farmers signed their entire approbation of the system. In the above-mentioned parishes rates are, on an average, $17\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound; and, but for exceptions of some families who have not land, and of certain cases and expences foreign to the inquiry, they would not be one penny in the pound.

In nine parishes, where the proportion of the poor having cottages amount to rather more than half the whole, poor rates are $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound.

In twelve parishes, where the proportion is less than half, but not one third, poor rates are $9\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the pound.

In ten parishes, where the proportion is something under a fourth, poor rates are 1s. 6d. in the pound.

In seven parishes, where the proportion is but nearly one sixth, poor rates are 4s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound.

And in thirteen parishes, where few or none have cows, poor rates are 5s. 11d. in the pound.

The poor in this considerable district being able to maintain themselves without parish assistance by means of land and live stock, and to do it at the same time so much by their industry and sobriety, and consistently with an honest conduct, *clearly marked by the entire approbation of this system by the farmers, &c. their neighbours,* is a circumstance which, well considered, does away a multitude of those objections and prejudices which we so often hear in conversation; and it proves that the instances which sometimes are said to occur of men who have land and stock being thieves to be either exaggerated, their possessions perhaps mistaken, from confounding them with their poorer neighbours, or that the number of such offences are not at all greater than are found amongst any other class of people. Such ideas are absolutely contradicted in this part of Lincolnshire, where the cow system is general. Cases may, however, occur of such offences in certain parishes, and yet not amount to any fair foundation for an argument against the system.

A successful thief may become possessor of a common-right house, and keep his horse and cow, and prove a depredator on a whole neighbourhood. Such things are certainly possible, but they prove no more against the poor having land or cows than the personal abuse of a good thing

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In seven parishes, where the proportion is but nearly one sixth, poor rates are 4s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound.

And in thirteen parishes, where few or none have cows, poor rates are 5s. 11d. in the pound.

The poor in this considerable district being able to maintain themselves without parish assistance by means of land and live stock, and to do it at the same time so much by their industry and sobriety, and consistently with an honest conduct, *clearly marked by the entire approbation of this system by the farmers, &c. their neighbours,* is a circumstance which, well considered, does away a multitude of those objections and prejudices which we so often hear in conversation; and it proves that the instances which sometimes are said to occur of men who have land and stock being thieves to be either exaggerated, their possessions perhaps mistaken, from confounding them with their poorer neighbours, or that the number of such offences are not at all greater than are found amongst any other class of people. Such ideas are absolutely contradicted in this part of Lincolnshire, where the cow system is general. Cases may, however, occur of such offences in certain parishes, and yet not amount to any fair foundation for an argument against the system.

A successful thief may become possessor of a common-right house, and keep his horse and cow, and prove a depredator on a whole neighbourhood. Such things are certainly possible, but they prove no more against the poor having land or cows than the personal abuse of a good thing

can convert the thing itself into a bad one. And that system which in the counties of Lincoln and Rutland produces industry, sobriety, honesty, and frugality, may certainly be made to produce similar effects in other counties, if similar means are used in the establishment. And for an inducement what can speak more clearly or more forcibly than poor rates 1s. 5½d. *with*, and 5s. 11d. *without* cows.

Where now are your objections, Gentlemen who have opposed this idea? Where is your agrarian law—your apprehended independance—your dreaded disquieting the minds of the poor—your making thieves for the support of cows—your entailing misery on the poor? Objections about as wise as *apprehensions that planting potatoes on warrens would make beef scarce!*

XVI. SUGGESTIONS FOR CARRYING SUCH A PLAN INTO EXECUTION.

I. To enable every parish containing commons or waste lands, and raising for the poor in the year 1800 any sum exceeding 100l.; to establish three poor families annually on such common or waste for every 100l. the poor rates have raised on an average of the last three years, that is to say 98, 99, and 1800. Such parishes

being enabled to borrow the sum requisite, on the credit of the rates.

II. The establishment to consist of a cottage and garden of an acre of land, and varying thence to five acres, according to the soil and the number of the family.

For 2 in family, 1 acre, at the expence of £. 20

3	2	30
4	3	40
5 or 6	4	50
7 &c.	5	60
<hr/>		<hr/>
21 souls	15 acres	£. 200
<hr/>		<hr/>

Call the average expence 10l. per head.

III. The allotments to remain the property of the poor to whom assigned so long as all the family living at the time of the assignment, or born to the father afterwards, shall not be chargeable to the parish; paying a quit rent of
per acre to the lord of the manor,
and per acre in lieu of tithe. To descend, on the death of the man, to any part of his family to which he shall leave it, but subject to the same conditions of nonsupport by the parish. Should the family be so numerous or young that none of them could comply with such conditions, then to revert to the parish, and a new family established.

especially that of Naztng, conclude that this prospect of property and ease of situation will give these estimable qualities where they were not found before : it is a part of the views with which the system is recommended. If it is found on such trial that the poor family is essentially benefited, that the landlord loses no rent, and that the morals of the people are improved ; the experience will be of infinite consequence, and a plain road is opened that will promise to lead to a situation respecting the poor very favourable to every interest in the community.

XVIII. A HOUSE OF INDUSTRY.

Hundred of Forehoe, Norfolk.

Built 1776.

Sixty acres of land farmed.

Income, till 1796, fixed at 2888l. per annum,
from 23 parishes.

	<i>Income,</i> £.		<i>No. in the</i> <i>House.</i>
1796 Lady	1084	—	309
Midsummer	1445	—	244
Michaelmas	1807	—	224
Christmas	1807	—	269
	<u>6143</u>	average	<u>261</u>

		<i>Income.</i> <i>£.</i>		<i>No. in the</i> <i>House.</i>
1797	Lady - -	1084	—	242
	Midsummer	722	—	234
	Michaelmas	722	—	237
	Christmas	722	—	270
		<u>3250</u>	average	<u>245</u>
1798	Lady - -	903	—	253
	Midsummer	903	—	217
	Michaelmas	722	—	224
	Christmas	722	—	247
		<u>3250</u>	average	<u>235</u>
1799	Lady - -	903	—	242
	Midsummer	903	—	233
	Michaelmas	722	—	240
	Christmas	1084	—	284
		<u>3612</u>	average	<u>249</u>
1800	Lady - -	1807	—	315
	Midsummer	2530	—	334
	Michaelmas	2530	suppose*	334
	Suppose	2530	suppose	334
		<u>9397</u>	average	<u>329</u>

* These three articles of course not made up : there is very little doubt but the sum is exactly, and the number very nearly stated.

A different arrangement must be made, in order to add the earnings and deduct the allowances paid out of the house; as in these respects the year's accounts are made up at Midsummer.

Parochial income for the year	£.	<i>Average Persons.</i>
ending Midsummer 1797	- 5420	
Earnings	- 378	
	<u>5798</u>	
Allowances	- 1131	
	<u>4667</u>	—242
1798 Parishes	- - 3250	
Earnings	- 347	
	<u>3597</u>	
Allowances	- 1012	
	<u>2585</u>	—244
1799 Parishes	- - 3250	
Earnings	- 355	
	<u>3605</u>	
Allowances	- 913	
	<u>2692</u>	—236

	£.	<i>Average Persons.</i>
1800 Parishes - -	6143	
Earnings -	<u>461</u>	
	6604	
Allowances -	<u>3210</u>	
	3394	—293

In order to compare the dear and cheap years, we should take the average of 1798 and 1799 as cheap, and of 1797 and 1800 as dear.

	£.	<i>Average Persons.</i>
1798 and 1799 Parishes - -	3250	
Earnings -	<u>351</u>	
	3601	
Allowances -	<u>962</u>	
	2639	—246

1797 and 1800 Parishes - -	5781	
Earnings -	<u>419</u>	
	6200	
Allowances -	<u>2170</u>	
	4030	—267

Annual Expence per Head.

1797.—242 persons cost 4667l. which	£.	s.	d.
is per head per annum	-	19	5 8
1798.—244 persons 2585l. which is			
per head per annum	-	10	11 10
1799.—236 persons 2692l. which is			
per head per annum	-	11	8 1
1800.—293 persons 3394l. which is			
per head per annum	-	11	11 8
			<hr/>
	4.)	52	17 3
			<hr/>
Average	-	13	4 3

Housekeeping. £.

1798	the expence	1256
1799	<hr/>	1235
1800	<hr/>	2229

Earnings.

1797.—242 persons earned 378l. which	£.	s.	d.
is per head per annum	-	1	11 2
1798.—244 persons earned 347l. which			
is per head	-	1	8 5
1799.—236 persons earned 355l. which			
is per head	-	1	10 1
1800.—293 persons earned 461l. which			
is per head	-	1	11 5

Many are old and decrepit, and many are children.

Mortality.

<i>Parishes.</i>	1797	1798	1799	1800
Barnham Broom -	0	1	0	0
Barford -	1	0	0	1
Brandon parva -	0	1	0	1
Bawberg -	0	0	0	1
Bowthorpe -	0	0	0	1
Carleton Forehoe -	0	0	0	0
Cossey -	1	1	0	1
Coulton -	0	0	1	0
Crownthorpe -	0	0	0	2
Coston -	0	1	0	0
Deepham -	0	2	0	0
Easton -	0	1	0	1
Hingham -	2	2	1	6
Hackford -	0	0	0	0
Kimberly -	0	1	1	1
Marlingford -	0	0	0	0
Morley St. Peter -	1	1	0	1
— St. Botolph -	0	0	1	1
Runhall -	0	0	1	0
Wymondham -	4	16	6	16
Wicklewood -	0	0	0	2
Wramplingham -	0	0	0	0
Welborne -	1	1	0	0
	10	28	11	35

In 1797, of 242 persons, 10 died — 1 in 24
 1798, of 244 persons, 28 died — 1 in 9
 1799, of 236 persons, 11 died — 1 in 20
 1800, of 293 persons, 35 died — 1 in 8

Proportion
annually,

XIX. A HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

This at Wymondham is one of the best-managed in the kingdom. I viewed it with much pleasure for the extreme cleanliness throughout; and in the persons of the prisoners, as well as in every other circumstance, is highly praise worthy. The earnings shew how well it is conducted.

1797.	April to July, earnings of 19				
	prisoners exceed their main-	£.	s.	d.	
	tenance by	-	7	2	2
	July to September, of 15	-	5	14	8
	September to December, of 15	-	10	6	7
1798.	December to April, of 21	-	11	18	2
	April to June, of 14	-	8	9	2
	June to September, of 11	-	2	7	8
	September to December, of 12	-	4	13	2
1799.	December to March, of 15	-	10	1	3
	March to July, of 14	-	9	18	5
	July to October, of 12	-	2	5	6
	October to January, of 24	-	3	4	1

And the proportion of their earnings which the prisoners receive for themselves has in some cases amounted to sums which have established them in industrious callings, such as from 4 to 9l. One Brown had the latter sum, with which he set up as a basket maker, and is now in good business and with a good character. The main hinge upon which this turns is the employment being the hemp manufacture;

bunching, heckling, and spinning hemp are by far the most profitable occupations they can be put to.

XX. AN ACT OF ENCLOSURE.

In the ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE, vol. xxi. p. 544. I inserted the act of the 12th of Anne, cap. iv. for giving a general power for enclosing waste lands in the west riding of York, not exceeding sixty acres in any one parish, for augmenting the maintenance of the ministers of chapels of ease. I beg here to observe, that that act deserves in the present period much attention, for the simple, and at the same time effective manner in which it enables *any of the inhabitants* of any parish, with the consent of the lord of the manor and *three parts in four* of the freeholders, to enclose such sixty acres.

Would it not be advisable to pass an act, *mutatis mutandis*, on such a plan, to enable vestries to enclose wastes for the poor; and to prescribe the form of a renunciation before magistrates of all future parochial support, each family not having less than acres of land, and in live stock, &c.: provision being made for ensuring the live stock, as at Manchester?

CONCLUDING REMARK.

During the time that these papers have been printing many petitions have been presented to the House of Commons, from various places

burthened in an extraordinary manner by poor rates, praying relief and assistance of the public. These rates, for the last quarter of a year, have advanced in a manner unprecedented, even to 15s. in the pound for a single quarter. The price of corn has risen, and with it the distress and misery of the poor, *notwithstanding these prodigious taxes levied for their support.*

What a contrast between the system of providing for the poor by rates at 10s. to 20, 30, 40, and 50s. in the pound, in the midst of misery and wretchedness, and that of land and cows, with rates in the same period of 3d. 4d. and 6d. in the pound!!!

If such a contrast be not sufficient to convince us that THIS is the right cure of our rural evils, I despair of ever seeing the application of any cure at all.

With a price of corn so enormous, it is difficult to suppose the commons and wastes will be left any longer in their present state: but by an enclosure, if not upon new principles, whatever may be the authority, whether by separate acts or a general one, if this important object of providing for the poor be not attended to in passing such acts, the opportunity of doing it cheaply will pass for ever; the poor, instead of being taken from their dependance on the parish, will be thrown still more upon it than at present; rates will be doubled as speedily as at other places.

and the same scenes of wretchedness the consequence, which disgrace in so many districts the political economy of the kingdom.

Had half the time, attention, and perseverance which have been employed by the Committees of the two Houses in those inquiries, during which the price of wheat has risen from 5 to 81. per quarter, been applied to this object, an act of Parliament might ere now have passed which would have gladdened the hearts of three fourths of the labourers of England; have brought under potatoes and other useful vegetables immense tracts of waste; and laid the foundations for a new system of poor management which would gradually have changed the dangerous necessities of the present moment into happiness and security.

I earnestly entreat the candid reader to recollect that what I have advanced on this most interesting subject rests not on a theoretical or fanciful basis, but is drawn directly from facts, that the poor themselves have been my informants, that the cow system is in full vigour through a large part of Rutland and Lincoln shires, and that that district exhibits a spectacle directly the reverse of every other.

If the present price of provisions be the result of national wealth, real or fictitious; of monopoly of large farms; or of any of the various, and many of them most absurd, causes

to which it has been attributed ; or if it be caused by an increase of population and by bad seasons ; to which of these circumstances it is assigned is of small consequence, as a return of the evil may in many of these cases be expected : and it then surely becomes an inquiry of singular importance to ascertain whether it be not much more wise to attempt placing the poor in such a situation as shall remove them from the sphere of the malady, than to wait for the arrival of the evil and then be busied in finding remedies which have in every case hitherto failed, and even added to the malignity of the disease.

If the wealth of this country should gradually become so great as to enable individuals to speculate in immense quantities of corn, rice, &c. ; and if from the same cause the farmers be able to withhold their products from market in such manner as very much to influence prices, such new situation of the labouring poor will become more and more necessary, and the call upon Parliament *thus* to direct the wisdom of their exertions will be heard perhaps when it is too late. The present price of corn is truly preposterous, and proves that such wealth does abound to a degree that may reasonably give us the expectation of future scarcities, as they are called, recurring periodically. To remove the poor from the destruction of paying such prices, without making them little farmers, unless in cases

of uncommon industry by their own meritorious exertions, operating as an encouragement and a reward; preserving them in the state of labourers for the farmers, but easy and comfortable, and therefore honest and sober, is an object of such immense importance that immediate attention should be given to the means of effecting it. Can there be near one thousand members of the two Houses of Parliament, and not one powerful enough by situation or talents who will bring forward such an inquiry? Compared with such an object, what are the questions we see debated? To borrow four millions a year for ten years, the fund for the interest already raised without the addition of a single tax; and so far from being any new burthen that it would extinguish a tax to more than double the amount, would prevent the necessity of raising the price of labour, and place the agricultural poor of the kingdom in a state of ease and comfort. If this be not an object worthy the attention of Parliament, such an one can never be brought forward.

I must deem it a circumstance to be lamented, that this plan does not come recommended by some respectable public establishment, whose sanction would secure attention; but I hope and trust that the distresses of the period, the magnitude of the evils felt, the just apprehension of still greater in prospect, the utter want of any other comprehensive and efficient project to

prevent the ruin with which we are threatened, will be a sufficient claim upon the attention of the Legislature, though recommended, as in this instance, but by an inconsiderable individual.

There is another, and which ought to be a more powerful motive to instigate to this inquiry, and that is the probability of the object being well pleasing to the beneficent Deity whose providence has been so conspicuously exerted in preserving our gracious Sovereign and his kingdoms through a period of unexampled difficulty. To give ease and comfort and improved morals to so large a part of the national poor can hardly be viewed with an indifferent eye by the Almighty Dispenser of every blessing. Heaven forbid that such a motive should become unfashionable, much less offensive! Should depravity arrive at that pitch, exertion, policy, religion, liberty, and independance will not long survive. Kings and parliaments, the great and the mean, the happy and the miserable will sink in one general and indiscriminate ruin. A scene of wretchedness that will put to the test the comfort to be derived from the stores of *philosophy*, which the French revolution has made the precursor of the French arms wherever they have carried desolation.







